A GENERAL HISTORY OF SIEGES AND BATTLES, *By SEA and LAND.*

CONTAINING,

A Particular and Circumſtantial Account

Of the moſt remarkable

Battles and Sieges, Bombardments and Expeditions,

In different Ages and Parts of the World;

And particularly, ſuch as relate to

GREAT BRITAIN and her Dependencies.

Including,

Anecdotes of the Lives, Military and Naval Tranſactions, of all the celebrated Admirals, Generals, Captains, &c. who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Service of their Country.

In which will be explained,

The MILITARY and NAVAL Terms of Art.

Embelliſhed with

PLANS of the Battles, and HEADS of the Illuſtrious Perſons, mentioned in the Courſe of the Work.

VOL. II.

LONDON;

Printed for J. CURTIS in Fleet-ſtreet,

J. JOHNSON oppoſite the Monument, and

M. THRUSH in Saliſbury Court,

1762.

J. Ellis ſculp.

BRITISH MUSEUM

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A GENERAL HISTORY OF SIEGES AND BATTLES.

CHAP. I.

The wars of the Athenians, *continued.*

IN the ſpring, after the ſixth year of the Peleponneſian war, Agis, the ſon of Archidamus, invaded Attica; the Athenians, in the mean time, fitted out a great fleet, ſending forty ſhips to Sicily, and directed their commanders to give a particular attention to Corcyra, the inhabitants of which were greatly afraid, leſt their exiles ſhould make any attempt

 againſt

againſt them, or leſt the Peloponneſians ſhould fall upon them with their fleet of ſixty gallies, which was hard by. Demoſthenes was diſpatched with another fleet, to infeſt the coaſts of Peloponneſus; he was one of the ableſt commanders of his time, as plainly appeared from his conduct in this war; for as the fleet ſailed by Laconia, he particularly obſerved the promontory of Pylus, which was joined to the land by a narrow iſthmus, with a barren iſland, two miles in circumference, before it; the port of which, however, was very convenient and ſafe, being ſheltered from all wind, by the headland or the iſle; from theſe advantages he inferred, that a garriſon left there would give ſo much trouble to the Peloponneſians, that they would be at laſt conſtrained to ſtay at home, in order to defend their own country. He therefore adviſed his colleagues, to ſeize upon it directly, and fortify it without loſs of time; but as they did not chooſe to do any thing more than what was required of them by their inſtructions, he was forced to give up his point. But the matter coming to the ears of the ſoldiery, they all declared, that they would not leave the place, but immediately began to fortify it; and, in the ſpace of ſix days, built a ſtrong wall; whereupon, the reſt of the admirals ſailing for Corcyra, Demoſthenes ſtaid with five ſhips, in order to guard the new-raiſed fortifications. No ſooner did the news of this event reach

the Peloponnesian army, but a resolution was immediately formed, to return back and besiege Pylus. Being arrived before the place, they possessed themselves of it, and caused a chosen body of Spartans, at the same time, to seize upon the island Sphacteria; they then attacked the Athenian retrenchments with great fury; Demosthenes and his garrison made a brave defence, and a fleet of forty Athenian ships arriving in due time, offered battle to the Peloponnesian fleet; but they having declined the engagement, because the Lacedæmonians were bent upon taking Pylus, the Athenians sailed resolutely into the harbour, sunk part of the vessels in it, and took the remainder. They then besieged the Spartans in the isle, which occasioned great perplexity to the Peloponnesians.

The Lacedæmonians, as was customary with them in all great dangers, sent for their magistrates into the camp; and they perceiving that it was impossible for the Spartans to be secure in Sphacteria, unless they made a treaty with the enemy, made a truce with the Athenians, whilst a negociation was carrying on at Athens; it was stipulated by this truce, that the Peloponnesians should deliver up all their ships, upon condition of having them restored to them, if the treaty should not take effect; that hostilities should be suspended between them and the Athenians, till this negociation was concluded one way

or other; that a certain quantity of proviſions ſhould be carried every day to the iſland, but that no ſhip ſhould attempt to go thither by ſtealth; that the truce ſhould expire with the return of the ambaſſadors, and that if it were in the mean time violated in any of its articles, it ſhould be totally null and void in all.

The Spartan ambaſſadors ſpoke to the Athenians with equal wiſdom and eloquence; they made it appear to them how good it would be to make a peace at their requeſt; and to prove this, they uſed the following argument: "You have now, ſaid they, an advantage, which whether it be owing to your wiſdom or fortune, may admit of doubt; but if you avail yourſelves of this opportunity to make a juſt and honourable peace, it will appear that your nation does not acquire advantages by chance, but by your own good conduct. Whereas, if you refuſe to make peace, you will run a hazard to loſe thoſe advantages by the pride of which you are encouraged to reject the offered accomodation."

The Athenians were for the moſt part inclined to put an end to the war, but Cleon, one of their demagogues, wrought upon them in ſuch a manner, that they inſiſted upon very unreaſonable terms, inſomuch that the ambaſſadors, finding that there were no hopes of making an honourable peace, departed, and

and with their return to the camp, the truce ended.

The Peloponneſians then required to have their ſhips reſtored, but the Athenians, under pretect of the truce's having been violated, refuſed to deliver them, and ſo kept poſſeſſion of ſixty veſſels which they had no right to.

The war being renewed on both ſides, the Lacedæmonians attacked the Athenian retrenchments at Pylus, and the Athenians fell on the Lacedæmonians at Sphacteria; the latter, notwithſtanding their diſadvantageous circumſtances, behaved with extraordinary valour; ſo that the buſineſs was protracted a conſiderable time, to the great uneaſineſs of the Athenians. They then began to repent that they had rejected the peace, and railed exceſſively at Cleon, who to appeaſe them, aſſerted that the general of the forces they were then ſending, might with eaſe attack the Spartans in the iſle, and end the war at once. Nicias, who had been appointed to this command, ſaid to him hereupon, that if he thought the buſineſs ſo eaſy, he would do well to undertake it himſelf: the latter imagining that this was ſaid only to try him, declared that he was very willing to go; whereupon Nicias declared that he reſigned his charge. Cleon objected that he was no general; but Nicias anſwering he might become one, the people inſiſted upon the orator's going upon the expedition. Cleon then advancing, ſaid, I am

ſo little afraid of the enemy, that I deſire but a very ſmall number of troops, and yet with the aſſiſtance of thoſe at Pylus, I will promiſe to bring you priſoners the Spartans, who fill you with ſo much dread; the people hearing a demagogue ſpeak in this manner, fell a laughing.

They however decreed him the troops he required, and he ſet out upon this expedition; in which he acquitted himſelf in a manner that could be little expected from one entirely void of experience in the art of war. He began by ſending an herald to the enemies camp, to give notice, that if the Spartans in the iſle would ſurrender at diſcretion, a new negociation might be ſet on foot; but the Lacedæmonians looking upon this propoſition as derogatory to the dignity of their ſtate, would not liſten to it. Thereupon Cleon in conjunction with Demoſthenes, invaded the iſland, and fortune ſeconding their endeavours, reduced the Spartans to extremities.

Cleon, though he had it in his power to put all theſe valiant men to the ſword, was reſolved to put it in their power to ſave their lives, and therefore ſent an herald to inform them, that they might ſtill ſurrender at diſcretion.

Upon this the Lacedæmonian commander in chief demanded a conference with the Athenian generals, in which he deſired their permiſſion to ſend for orders to the Peloponneſian camp, but that was not allowed of:

at

at length the offered conditions were accepted of, and the priſoners embarked on board veſſels, in order to be conveyed to Athens. As the ſiege had laſted twenty two days, and there had been a bloody engagement, in which one hundred and twenty-eight of their men were ſlain, two hundred and ninety which were all that remained, yielded upon this occaſion.

When Cleon produced the priſoners within the time allotted, the people highly rejoiced at ſo unexpected an event, paſſed a decree in their next aſſembly, that theſe priſoners ſhould be kept in a place of ſecurity till the concluſion of a peace, unleſs the Peloponneſians ſhould, in the mean time, invade Attica; in which caſe they were reſolved to put them to death.

The firſt affair of conſequence reſolved upon by the Athenians in the beginning of the eighth year of the war, was the taking of the iſland of Cythera, which by being ſituated upon the coaſt of Laconia, lay extremely convenient for them. The command in this expedition was conferred upon Nicias. Nicias had, even during the life of Pericles, been very much conſidered in the ſtate, and he was extremely popular. He was by no means a great man, for though he was very well ſkilled in military affairs, and knew perfectly well how to acquit himſelf as a general, he

was over-cautious, and too much bent upon pleaſing the people at any rate.

Nicias, however, executed his commiſſion punctually and ſucceſsfully, whereby he procured a very advantageous poſt for the Athenians, and greatly diſtreſſed the Lacedæmonians. The Athenians then took Thyrea; this place the Lacedæmonians yielded up to the inhabitants of the iſland of Ægina, when they were driven out by the Athenians, theſe, with the Cytherans, were ſent to Athens to be tried by the people; the former they condemned to death, as the ancient and natural enemies of their nation; the latter they ſent into the iſlands under their government.

The Athenians ſoon after laid ſiege to Megara, under the command of Hippocrates and Demoſthenes; but Barſidas the Lacedæmonian coming to the aſſiſtance of the place, engaged the Athenians; the ſucceſs of this battle was doubtful; but however; as the Lacedæmonian party prevailed in Megara, many of the partizans of the Athenians were under a neceſſity of withdrawing; after this, ſuch as had been baniſhed for their fidelity to the Lacedæmonians, returned, and were received into the city, upon making oath to forget all that was paſt, and give their country no further diſturbance. But no ſooner were they ſettled, than they forgot their oath; and loſing all affection for their country, cauſed a hundred of thoſe whom they moſt ſuſpected

to

to be apprehended, forced the people to condemn them, and in purſuance of their ſentence put them all to death. They then changed the government into an Oligarchy, and ſeized the ſupreme power themſelves.

The Bœotians diſliking that form of government which they had lived under ſince their league with the Lacedæmonians, underhand invited the Athenians to aſſiſt them in eſtabliſhing Democracies throughout Bœotia; but in this affair they had no reaſon to boaſt of their ſucceſs; for the Thebans and other Bœotians of their faction raiſed a numerous army, and gave the command of it to Pantœdus. Demoſthenes and Hippocrates were the generals who commanded the Athenians; the engagement which was a very bloody one, happened at Delium; in it the Athenians were defeated and loſt all hopes of ſucceeding in Bœotia, moſt of the Bœotians who were well affected to their party, being obliged to quit their country and take refuge in the Athenian territories. Thucidydes the hiſtorian was at this time at the head of the Athenian forces on the coaſt of Macedonia; a conſiderable army had likewiſe been ſent thither by the Lacedæmonians under Braſidas, one of the beſt of their generals. Braſidas found means to reduce Amphipolis and ſeveral other places; but Thucidydes, by a ſpeedy march, ſaved Ionia. The Athenians, greatly uneaſy at Braſidas's conqueſt, in the winter ſent freſh

troops, money and ſhips to the Macedonian coaſt; but all their efforts were ineffectual, for conſiderable numbers revolted from them in thoſe regions where the courage and conduct of the Spartan chief were crowned with conſtant ſucceſs. We are at length come to the concluſion of the eighth year of the Peloponneſian war.

In the ſpring following, the Spartans offered new terms of peace to the Athenians, taking it for granted that their enemies would now be readier to receive their conditions.

Herein they gueſſed right, for the Athenians perceiving that they were by no means invincible, and being greatly diſtreſſed by the loſs of Amphipolis conſented to a truce for a year, that they might have time to retrieve their affairs.

A truce was accordingly made upon the following terms; that both parties ſhould continue unmoleſted in the poſſeſſion of what they then had; that embaſſadors, heralds, and all perſons inveſted with a public character, ſhould be allowed to enter into any of the ſtates in order to carry on a negociation for a general peace; that deſerters ſhould not be received by either party; that all diſputes ſhould be left to the deciſion of umpires, and not decided by the ſword. Proceedings at ſea were likewiſe regulated, and the allies of both parties compriſed in the truce. The truce was no ſooner concluded, but a negociation

tion for a general peace was entered into; but this was interrupted and the Athenians involved in new broils, by an accident in Thrace, where the cities of Scione and Menda revolted to Braſidas, who having received no information concerning the truce, endeavoured to draw in Potidæa alſo; the Athenians maintaining that Scione revolted two days after the truce was concluded, were very loud in their complaints, inſiſting that it was violated; they therefore required that both Scione and Menda ſhould be reſtored to them; negociations being inſufficient to bring this about, an army was ſent to reduce them: Menda was retaken by this army, but Scione making an obſtinate reſiſtance, the Athenians built a wall round it, and turned the ſiege into a blockade. At the approach of ſpring, the Spartan army, commanded by Braſidas, made an attempt upon Potidæa; but it proved abortive, and the Athenians began to recover their courage.

On the day upon which the Pythean games were celebrated, Cleon prevailed upon the Athenians to ſend a great army into Thrace under his command; this army, which conſiſted of twelve hundred foot and three hundred horſe, all citizens of Athens, embarked on board a fleet of thirty gallies.

Cleon, upon his arrival in Thrace, immediately took the city of Terone, and though his attempt on Stagirus was unſucceſsful, he was

not discouraged from falling upon Gallopsus a colony of the Thasians, which he took; he then retired to Ione, and waited there for assistance. Brasidas, whose army was by no means equal in number to that of Cleon, observing that the latter was grown negligent, and that there was not much discipline observed amongst his troops, fell upon the Athenians by surprise, and defeated them with great slaughter: Cleon himself fled at last, but was soon overtaken and slain by a Lacedæmonian soldier; Brasidas received a mortal wound in the beginning of the battle. In it the Athenians lost six hundred men, the Lacedæmonians no more than seven.

Both parties began to make serious reflections after this decisive battle; the Athenians regretted the loss of their army, the Spartans that of their general; add to this, that by the death of Cleon, the great promoter of the war was removed, they were therefore much better disposed to listen to terms of accomodation. Plistonax king of Sparta was at the head of a considerable party that declared for peace, and who made as great efforts to bring it about, as Nicias and his Partizans did at Athens. Hence various negociations took rise, which ended in concluding a peace for fifty years between the Athenians and Spartans.

The conditions upon which this peace, so much wanted by both parties, was concluded,

were

were as follow; that both parties ſhould reſtore the priſoners and places they had taken, excepting only, that the Athenians ſhould continue in the poſſeſſion of Nicæa, who had taken it from the Megarians, and that the Thebans ſhould retain Platæa, becauſe they refuſed poſitively to give it up. The Bœotians, Corinthians, and Megarians, declined acceding to this peace; but the reſt of the allies readily embraced it, and it was accordingly ſworn at Athens, during the archonſhip of Alcæon, ten years after the war broke out; and as it was effected chiefly by the interpoſition of Nicias, it was known by the appellation of the Nician peace.

The Athenians remained in peace for two years after; and then they were involved in a new war, occaſioned in this manner. The republic of Athens had at the inſtigation of Alcibiades made a truce of a hundred yea s with the Argives. The Spartans having drawn together a great army, marched under the command of their king Agis into the territory of Argos, where the confederate army was incamped; but when the two armies were upon the point of engaging, a truce was all on a ſudden concluded by two of the Argive generals and the king of Sparta; which ſtep, inſtead of proving agreeable, was equally diſapproved of on both ſides.

Not long after the concluſion of the abovementioned truce, an army from Athens, con-

conſiſting of a thouſand foot, and an hundred horſe, arriving at Argos, the Argives violated the truce with Sparta, by renewing the war. The troops of Athens were led by Laches and Nicoſtratus, with whom came Alcibiades as a volunteer; it was by his advice that the Argives beſieged Orchomannus and Tegea; but Agis, king of Sparta ſoon arriving with a great army, checked the progreſs of their victories.

The celebrated * battle, of which we are now going to give the reader an account, is deſcribed by Thucidydes in a manner more circumſtantial and ſatisfactory, than by any other author; we ſhall therefore give an abridgement of it in this place.

At the beginning of the fight, the Argives and their confederates were at firſt victorious in one of their wings, but as the Lacedæmonians had the better in the centre, and afterwards in the other wing, they ſurrounded the Argives, and gave them a total overthrow, to commemorate which, they erected a Trophy.

Notwithſtanding this defeat, the Eleans and Athenians ſoon after laid ſiege to Epidaurus, and laid intrenchments round it; in the winter following, a powerful faction at Argos taking the part of the Lacedæmonians,

* Before Chriſt, 417.

that

that city diſcontinued her league with the Athenians, and entered into one of fifty years with the Lacedæmonians; the Argives at the ſame time changed their form of government which had before been of the democratic kind: they moreover built long walls, in order to join their city to the ſea. In the mean time the Athenians, thoroughly ſenſible that Perdicas king of Macedon, had behaved to them in a perfidious manner, and prevented the ſucceſs of their expeditions againſt the Chalcideans and the city of Amphipolis renounced their league with him, and declared war againſt him. With this declaration of war, ended the fifteenth year of the Peloponneſian war.

At the beginning of the year following Alcibiades ſteered his courſe, with a fleet of twenty ſhips, towards Argos, to aſſiſt his friend and put an end to the factions and conteſts that prevailed in that city; for this end he cauſed three hundred of the inhabitants who were thought to favour the Lacedæmonians to be ſeized upon and carried away; they then ſet ſail for the iſland of Melos, which though neither ſtrong nor conſiderable, had always acted to the utmoſt of its power againſt the Athenians; the general having beſieged the capital, and finding that it would take a conſiderable time to reduce it, he turned the ſiege into a blockade; leaving a body

body of men ſufficient to guard the lines, repaired to Athens.

Not long after Philocrates, the ſon of Eudemus, being ſent with ſupplies to the army before Melos, diſtreſſed the inhabitants of the place in ſuch a manner that they were under a neceſſity of ſurrendering at diſcretion; upon taking the place the Athenians put all the inhabitants of it, who were capable of bearing arms, to the ſword, and carried the women and children captives to Athens. From Pylus the Athenians made ſeveral inroads into Laconia, which the Lacedæmonians did not reſent as a violation of the peace, though they permitted their ſubjects to make repriſals upon the Athenians. With regard to the affairs of Macedonia, they continued in much the ſame ſituation, if we except ſome incurſions made by the Athenians into the territories of Perdicas. Such were the events of the ſixteenth year of the war.

In the beginning of the year following the Athenians formed a reſolution to ſend a fleet to Sicily, to ſuccour the Egiſtines, with whom the Syracuſans were at war. Nicias was choſen commander in chief in this expedition, and Alcibiades and Lamachus joined with him as Colleagues. But while the neceſſary preparations were making, the buſineſs was interrupted by Alcibiades

cibiades being recalled home upon an accuſation of impiety*.

Early in the ſpring of the year following, Agis, at the head of a very numerous army of Lacedæmonians, Corinthians, and other nations of Peloponneſus, invaded Attica. Alcibiades who in his voyage to Athens, had gathered from one of the ſailors, that there was a deſign formed to put him to death upon his arrival, had given his convoy the ſlip and taken refuge in Sparta. In this expedition he accompanied Agis king of Sparta, who in purſuance of his advice, ſeized and fortified Decelea, which was ſituated at an equal diſtance from Athens and the frontiers of Bœotia, but the greateſt diſaſter which happened to the Athenians during the whole courſe of this war, was that which befel them in Sicily, which was an affair of ſuch a nature, as to require a particular account.

When Nicias ſet out upon the expedition to Sicily, he was accompanied by Stilbides, a philoſopher, who had eradicated from his mind many abſurd and ſuperſtitious opinions, and might probably have ſaved his life, if he had not died before him. But Nicias who,

* The Hermæ, or ſtatues of Mercury, had been defaced one night, and Alcibiades was one of thoſe who was accuſed of doing this impious deed, in contempt of religion.

had

had been deprived of him before the laſt defeat at Syracuſe, had no body about him that knew the natural cauſe of an eclipſe of the moon; to this circumſtance the total overthrow of the Athenians was owing.

Nicias being taken priſoner, and perceiving that the Syracuſans ſtill continued the carnage, though all his men were in their power, fell proſtrate before Gylippus, and addreſſed him in the following terms: "O Gylippus, though victorious and triumphant, ſuffer yourſelf to be touched with compaſſion; not for me, but for theſe unfortunate Athenians. Conſider how fickle the war is, and do not forget that the Athenians, whenever they got a victory over the Lacedæmonians, always made the mildeſt and moſt generous uſe of their advantages." The Lacedæmonian, affected by this pathetic remonſtrance, raiſed up Nicias, and gave orders that the carnage ſhould be ſtopped. But orders given at ſuch a juncture are ſeldom liſtened to, for many hundreds were killed after theſe orders were given.

Various are the accounts given of the fall of Nicias by different authors; that which we meet with in Thucidydes, appears by much the moſt probable. "Nicias and Demoſthenes, ſays that excellent hiſtorian, were killed againſt the will of Gylippus. For Gylippus thought that his victory would receive additional luſtre, if he could carry home both the generals of the enemy to Lacedæmon. And

it

it ſo happened, that Demoſthenes, who was one of them had been their greateſt enemy, for the things he had done in the iſland and at Pylus; and the other, upon the ſame occaſion, their beſt friend. It was no doubt in confidence of this, that Nicias threw himſelf upon the mercy of Gylippus. But ſome of the Syracuſans, either for fear of being put to the torture, becauſe they had had underhand dealings with him, and ſome of the Corinthians fearing he might find means to make his eſcape by dint of bribery, and occaſion them more trouble, killed him with, the aſſiſtance of their confederates."

No ſooner had the news of the defeat in Sicily reached Greece, but all the confederates of Athens began to ſhow themſelves diſaffected to her, whilſt the Lacedæmonians exerted themſelves in making preparations to carry on the war with more vigour than ever. The Athenians, without loſing time, cauſed the promontory of Sunium to be fortified; cut down vaſt quantities of timber, and worked night and day in order to fit out a fleet. So ended the nineteenth year of the Peloponneſian war.

In the beginning of the year following the Chians having revolted from the Athenians, ſent ambaſſadors to ſolicit the protection of the Lacedæmonians. The Lacedæmonians, with their allies, promiſed to ſend ſuch a fleet as would be ſufficient for that purpoſe; but the Athenians being apprized of this, were before

before hand with them, and ſent a fleet to Chios. The commander of this fleet upbraided the Chians with their perfidy; which they perſiſted to deny, and indeed the majority of the people of Chios had no knowledge of the application made by their countrymen to the Lacedæmonians. But the Athenian general, in order to leave no room for doubt, inſiſted upon their ſending a conſiderable number of ſhips to join the Athenian fleet; ſo that they without delay, put themſelves under a neceſſity of fitting ſeven gallies and ſending them as ordered.

From this time the Athenians had frequent advantages at ſea, whereby the Peloponneſians were much diſcouraged, and their ſpirits would have ſunk entirely if the eloquence of Alcibiades had not been powerful enough to perſuade them to carry on the war. He adviſed them to diſpatch him with a ſmall fleet to Ionia, where he promiſed to engage the cities to revolt from the Athenians, and to negociate a league between Sparta and the king of Perſia; aſſuring them that ſuch advantages would accrue from thence as could not fail entirely to cruſh their rival.

The Lacedæmonians at length yielding to his perſuaſions, he entered Ionia as he intended, and really brought about a great part of what he had promiſed, whereby the Athenians were filled with ſuch terror, that they cauſed a thouſand talents, which had till then remained

remained untouched, to be forthwith expended in the ſervice of the war.

As ſoon as they were in a condition to do it, they diſpatched ſeveral ſquadrons of ſhips of war to ſea, with orders to reduce ſuch places as had revolted, and then to act againſt the Peleponneſians in general; ſo well did theſe ſquadrons acquit themſelves, that Leſbos, Clazomene and other places which had revolted from the Athenians, were forced again to receive their yoke. In the mean time Alcibiades did the beſt ſervice he could to the Spartans, having by his addreſs prevailed on Tiſſaphernes, the king of Perſia's lieutenant, to enter into a league with them. But Alcibiades ſhortly after incurring the diſpleaſure of Agis, by debauching his wife, was obliged to take refuge at the Perſian court.

Not long after this the Athenians give an extraordinary inſtance of their fondneſs for novelty in aboliſhing the Democracy, in defence of which they had ſo often laviſhed their blood to pleaſe the Perſians, and the very ſame Alcibiades that they had baniſhed. During theſe tranſactions, Oropus, a ſtrong city on the frontiers of Bœotia, revolted from the Athenians, whereby they ran a riſk of loſing all Eubæa, the inhabitants of which were deſirous to revolt, as the diſturbances at Athens furniſhed them an opportunity. This event

event concludes the twentieth year of the Peloponneſian war.

The ſenate of four hundred by which Athens was governed after the diſſolution of the democracy ſent ambaſſadors to Agis, who was encamped with the Lacedæmonian army at Declea, to inform him that they were willing to make a peace, and that they were more to be depended upon than a Democracy. But Agis who was of a very different opinion, returned no anſwer to the ambaſſadors of the four hundred, but having intimated his intention to the Lacedæmonians, procured a great augmentation of forces to be ſent him into Attica.

Being reinforced by theſe ſuccours, he marched directly to Athens, taking it for granted that thoſe who were averſe to the Oligarchy would immediately raiſe an inſurrection upon his drawing near the city; which would render it an eaſy prey to him.

However it ſoon appeared, that he was miſtaken, for the Athenians, upon his ſending ſome advanced parties to ſkirmiſh with them, attacked and routed thoſe parties and then drew out in battle array before their city, with ſuch order and ſo undaunted an air, that Agis ſuſtained ſome loſs, and was under a neceſſity of retiring to his former poſt. Not long after, the four hundred ſent ambaſſadors to him, but with regard to their negociation, nothing further

further appears from hiſtory, but that they were treated with more civility than they had been at firſt.

After this great broils and diſturbances happened in the ſtate of Athens, and a day being appointed for calling a general aſſembly to compoſe them, intelligence was brought that the Lacedæmonian fleet was ſteering, whereupon the former confuſion was renewed; for thoſe who were aſſembled, inſtead of deliberating upon the matter, on account of which they came together, ran in crowds to the port, where they ſaw the fleet bearing away for Eubæa, wherefore a fleet was immediately diſpatched thither from Athens, under the command of Tymochares; this fleet however had but indifferent ſucceſs, for being attacked by the Peloponneſians, and betrayed by the Eretrians, it was totally defeated, twenty five ſhips being taken, moſt of the reſt ſunk, or rendered unfit for ſervice, and all Eubæa revolting except Orcus.

When this defeat was heard of at Athens, the people were almoſt reduced to deſpair, as they had neither fleet nor army, and were deprived of Eubæa, which furniſhed the city with greater ſupplies than even Attica itſelf; it cannot indeed admit of a doubt, that, if the Spartans had been well acquainted with their own ſtrength, they would without loſs of time have ſet ſail for Athens, and have ended the war at once. But being always dilatory, and above

above all in maritime affairs, they gave the Athenians time, which was, putting them into a condition to defend themſelves, for the Athenians made ſo good uſe of the time for which they were indebted to the indolence of the Spartans, that they in a few days found means to fit out a fleet of twenty ſail; they paſſed a law to deprive the ſenate of four hundred of their power, conferring it upon the ſenate of five thouſand; they recalled Alcibiades; and their conduct was in every reſpect ſo prudent, moderate and reſolute, that the republic of Athens ſeemed never better regulated than at that time. Piſander and the other bigots to Oligarchy, retired unnoticed to the enemy.

I ſhall now lay before the reader what happened to the fleet and army at Samos, and all the tranſactions that paſſed in Ionia. Tiſſaphernes repairing to Aſpendus where lay the Phœnician fleet, publickly declared that he would punctually perform all the promiſes he had made to the Peloponneſians. Alcibiades however found means to perſuade the Athenians that this was by no means his intention, and whether in order to render this probable to them, or in order to give occaſion to it, ſet ſail with thirteen gallies for Aſpendus, where he frequently conferred with the Perſian lieutenant, and contrived ſo artfully to alienate him from the Peloponneſians and they from him, that he entirely ruined their affairs.

During

During the abſence of Alcibiades, the Peloponneſian fleet, commanded by Mindarus, engaged that of Athens, commanded by Thraſybulus. The former conſiſted of ſeventy-three ſail, the latter of fifty-five. The Peloponneſians prevailed at firſt, ſinking ſome of the Athenian ſhips, and running others on ſhore; but purſuing their advantage too inconſiderately, and their line being broken, the Athenians, by their great ſkill in maritime affairs, made up for their deficiency in force, and totally routed the Peloponneſians, taking twenty-one of their ſhips; it is true indeed they loſt fifteen of their own, but this victory, tho' dearly bought, was a great advantage; as it filled the Athenians with new hopes, gave a favourable turn to their affairs in general, and preſerved all Ionia and the Helleſpont. Not long after, the Athenians ſeized eight gallies coming from Byzantium, which had revolted from them. They then made the inhabitants of that city ſubmit again to their yoke, which they had ſhaken off, and ſeverely fined the inhabitants for their breach of faith. Alcibiades returning home with his thirteen gallies, took nine more from the fleet, by means of which ſquadron, he obliged the people of Halicarnaſſus to diſburſe a large ſum of money, and fortified Cos. When theſe advantages were heard of at Athens, the people became greatly elate, and even conceived hopes of recovering Euboea, and putting

an honourable end to the war. These transactions took up the ſummer of the twenty-firſt year of the Peloponneſian war.

Doricus, who commanded the Italian gallies, going over to aſſiſt the Lacedæmonians in the Helleſpont, found the Athenians in his way at Seſtos, whereupon he fled to Dardanum, and having landed his men, endeavoured to defend his ſhips from the ſhore; this was not hard for him to do, as he firſt cauſed his veſſels to be hauled upon the beach. The Athenian fleet however attacked him, and were very near poſſeſſing themſelves of all his gallies; but Mindarus, the Peloponneſian admiral, coming to his aſſiſtance with a fleet of eighty-four veſſels, the Athenians dropped their firſt purpoſe, and prepared for a general engagement; Thraſybulus commanding the right wing, and Thraſyllus the left. The right wing of the Peloponneſian fleet was under the command of Mindarus and his Lacedæmonians; and Doneus, with the Syracuſan gallies, were in the left. Pharnabazus was encamped not far from the ſhore with a Perſian army, and this inſpired the Peloponneſians with great confidence. The Athenians fought with the utmoſt bravery, notwithſtanding the diſadvantages they lay under; and the battle was altogether doubtful, when a fleet was deſcried by both parties, though neither could tell to whom they belonged; they both there-

therefore exerted themſelves, to end the engagement before theſe veſſels could arrive. On their approach a purple flag was hoiſted by the admiral's galley; whereby it was known by every body to belong to Alcibiades. The Peleponneſian fleet being diſperſed, immediately fled; the Athenians took ten ſhips, and would have taken many more, had it not been for a tempeſt which roſe juſt at that time. Mindarus was forced to take up with the firſt port that offered, for the ſecurity of his ſhips; and marched with his men to join Pharnabazus, under whoſe protection they were in no danger of being moleſted by the Athenians.

The Eubœans having almoſt totally abandoned the Athenians, the Bœotians ſuggeſted to them, to join their iſland with the continent, by means of an iſthmus made by art; to this they agreed, and were ſucceſsful; tho' at once oppoſed by the Athenians and the Euripus; for ſo the arm of the ſea which they were to fill up was called. Theramenes, the Athenian general, finding it impoſſible to obſtruct the execution of this deſign, ſet ſail for other places, particularly Paros; reduced them again under the Athenian government, and levied conſiderable fines upon ſuch as he thought to have deſerted him wilfully; after which he ſailed to join the great fleet, commanded by Thraſybulus. About the time of this conjunction, intelli-

gence was received, that Mindarus, assisted by Pharnabazus, had taken Cizicum by storm; whereupon it was resolved to sail thither without delay, and fight them.

The Athenian fleet being arrived at Preconnesus, anchored there all night; and having sent their men ashore, under the command of Chares, directed him to march directly to Cizicum; as to the fleet, it was divided into three squadrons; the first was under the command of Alcibiades, the second, under that of Theramenes, and the third under that of Thrasybulus. Alcibiades with his squadron sailed up to the Peloponnesian fleet, whereupon Mindarus prepared to engage him with his fleet of eighty sail. But Alcibiades, upon the near approach of the enemy, betook himself to flight, and the Peloponnesians pursued him with great eagerness, but all on a sudden Alcibiades made a signal for a new line. The Peleponnesians then looking more carefully, saw the squadrons of Theramenes, and Thrasybulus, between them and the shore; upon this they altered their course, and did their utmost to make Cleros, a port not far from Pharnabazus's camp; thither Alcibiades pursued them, and sunk, or took, their ships all the way: after they landed however, Pharnabazus sent them such succour, that the Athenians suffered in their turns.

Thra-

Thraſybulus then landed his men to their aſſiſtance, directing Theramenes to land alſo, to join Chares, and to come with all poſſible expedition to their aid. Alcibiades engaged Mindarus and his Lacedæmonians; Thraſibulus fought valiantly againſt the reſt of the Peloponneſians, though their number greatly exceeded his. At that very moment, Theramenes and Chares came in with their foot, the battle laſted long, and was very obſtinate; but Mindarus at length being killed, the Perſians, Peloponneſians and Lacedæmonians, betook themſelves to flight. Thus was Alcibiades victorious both at ſea and land, on one and the ſame day; having taken the enemies whole fleet, and more booty than his men could carry with them.

The people of Athens, upon receiving advice of this affair, were tranſported with joy to a degree of madneſs; they immediately raiſed an army of a thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe; and diſpatched thirty gallies to join Alcibiades, whom they began now to think almoſt invincible. The Lacedæmonians, apprehending that this war would in the end prove the ruin of one or other of the ſtates, ſent Endius, their ambaſſador, to propoſe terms of accomodation. Though the ambaſſador delivered himſelf admirably well upon the occaſion, Cleophon, the orator, by a virulent harangue, found means to prevail upon the people to lay aſide all thoughts of

peace, and diſmiſs Endius without an anſwer. This ill-judged ſtep they afterwards ſorely repented.

In the beginning of the following year, Thraſybulus having repulſed Agis, king of Sparta, who led an army to the gates of Athens, ſailed with a powerful fleet, and a conſiderable body of land forces on board, to Epheſus; but failing in his attack on that city, he ſteered to Leſbos, where he was more fortunate, as well as in his attempts againſt ſome other places. In the interim, the Spartans taking the opportunity of the war being removed to a conſiderable diſtance from Greece; attacked Pylus by ſea and land. Upon which the Athenians ſent a fleet to its relief, under the command of Anytus; but the wind being contrary, he, after having been ſeveral days at ſea, was forced to put back, when he was obliged to pay a heavy fine, to avoid being put to death; for not doing what was not in his power. The conſequence was, that Pylus, after a vigorous defence, was obliged to ſurrender to the Lacedæmonians. Soon after, the Megarians having ſurpriſed Niſæa, the Athenians ſent an army thither, and gave the Megarians a ſhameful overthrow, killed a vaſt number of them, and committed great ravages.

Alcibiades, Thraſybulus, and Theramenes, were alſo very ſucceſsful, both in the Helleſpont and Thrace; and concluded their enter-

enterprizes with the ſiege of the ſtrong city of Byzantium, garriſoned by the Lacedæmonians, and commanded by Clearchus. Alcibiades and his forces got admittance by the treachery of ſome of the inhabitants, who let them into the city; where, however, they were ſo ſtrongly oppoſed by the garriſon, and ſome of the inhabitants, that they had like to have been repulſed, and to prevent which, Alcibiades promiſed to the inhabitants, by proclamation, ſafety for themſelves and effects. This offer ſucceeded, and the Byzantines expelled the garriſon; who all, except five hundred priſoners ſent to Athens, periſhed by the ſword: the conſequence of this ſucceſs was, that ſeveral other cities ſubmitted to the Athenians.

Things being thus ſettled, Alcibiades wiſhed once more to ſee his own country, from which he had been ſome years abſent; and accordingly ſailed for Athens. The ſides of his ſhips were covered with bucklers, and all ſorts of ſpoils, in form of trophies; a great many veſſels were towed after him, by way of triumph; he alſo diſplayed the enſigns and ornaments of thoſe he had burnt; which were more in number than the others; the whole amounting to two hundred ſhips. When he appeared in ſight, the people came out of the city in a body to meet him, and ſaluted him with incredible ſhouts of joy. In the midſt of an infinite number of officers and ſoldiers, all eyes

were fixed ſolely on him, whom they conſidered as victory itſelf, deſcended from the ſkies: all around him, paſſionately careſſing, bleſſing, and crowning him; ſtriving who ſhould ſhow him moſt reſpect.

This favourable reception encouraged Alcibiades to demand an aſſembly of the people, in order to his juſtification before them; well knowing how neceſſary it was for his ſafety, to be abſolved in form.

When the aſſembly met, and Alcibiades had addreſſed them; the Athenians, tranſported with hearing him ſpeak, decreed him crowns of gold, appointed him general by ſea and land, with unlimitted power; reſtored him all his fortunes, and ordered the proper officers to abſolve him from the curſes they had pronounced againſt him, formally, by the order of the people.

Soon after he put to ſea, with a fleet of an hundred ſhips, to attempt ſomething further againſt the enemies of his country: Agis, king of Sparta, taking the advantage of the abſence of Alcibiades, marched with twenty-eight thouſand men, in the night, to the city of Athens; ſlew the watch, and even gained part of the walls. However, he was ſoon repulſed; for the Athenians the next morning diſpatched a body of horſe, not inferior in number to the cavalry of the Peleponneſian army; they fought under the walls, the Lacedæmonians and Athenians looking on; victory

tory at length declared for the Athenians, who puſhed the Peloponneſian cavalry ſo briſkly, that they retired back to their foot; upon this Agis departed, finding it impracticable to conquer the city. In the interim Alcibiades leaving part of his fleet with his pilot, Antiochus, whom he laid under an injunction to do nothing during his abſence, ſailed into the Helleſpont to ſuccour ſome of the cities that ſtill remained faithful to the Athenians. Antiochus, unmindful of the orders he had received from his commander, went and dared Lyſander, the Lacedæmonian admiral, to an engagement; this the latter was by no means diſpleaſed at, as Alcibiades was not in the way.

The event was ſuch as might have been expected; the Athenians were defeated, and Antiochus their commander ſlain. Alcibiades being informed of this defeat, returned and offered Lyſander battle; but this the latter, who was remarkable for his circumſpect conduct, declined. The Athenians having entertained an opinion, that this overthrow was occaſioned by the neglect of Alcibiades, and giving ear to certain reports concerning his correſponding with Pharnabazus, and the Lacedæmonians, they immediately deprived him of his command, and ſubſtituted ten new generals in his place; the moſt remarkable of theſe were, Conon, Thraſybulus, and

Pericles, ſon to the illuſtrious general of that name.

Conon having claimed the fleet of Alcibiades, he made no difficulty to reſign the command; but refuſed to return to Athens. Alcibiades, then in a veſſel of his own, ſailed over to Thrace, where he built a caſtle for his ſecurity, and formed a principality, tho' ſurrounded by many and powerful enemies.

In the year following, Conon the Athenian general, came to an engagement with Callicratides, who ſucceeded Lyſander in the command of the fleet; it is reported of him, that in this fight, he diſplayed greater conduct in the diſpoſition of his fleet, than had ever been known before: he was however defeated, loſt thirty of his ſhips, and was obliged to undergo a cloſe ſiege in Mitylene. Advice of this being received at Athens, the people were in great conſternation; in order to raiſe ſufficient forces, they conferred the freedom of their city upon all who were willing to aſſiſt them in the war; and with great difficulty fitted out a number of ſhips, which were ſent directly to Samos, which was the place where their fleet was gathered together; they had received poſitive orders to relieve Conon at any rate.

In purſuance of theſe orders, the whole fleet, which conſiſted of a hundred and fifty veſſels, ſet ſail from Samos: Callicratides being informed of this, left a force ſufficient to block up the city, and repaired with two hundred

hundred and fifty ships to Malea, a promontory of Lesbos. On the very night of his arrival, the Athenian fleet advanced to Arginasæ, a place opposite to Lesbos. In the morning the two fleets engaged with equal warmth, till the Lacedæmonian admiral was sunk, upon which victory declared for the Athenians; this victory they bought dear, having lost twenty-five of their ships, with most of their men on board them.

The loss on the side of the Peleponnesians, amounted to seventy-seven vessels. This glorious victory could not, however, save the commanders who gained it from being severely treated by their countrymen; for Theramenes having accused his colleagues of neglecting to save the dying, or to pay the last rites to the dead, they were instantly recalled; two of them not caring to run the hazard, made their escape; but six of them returned home and stood their trial; they urged in their defence, that they had been prevented by a tempest from doing what they were charged with neglecting; but Theramenes so irritated the people against them, that they were all condemned to death, and shortly after executed.

The year following, the Athenian fleet repaired to Samos, under the command of Conon, while Lysander took upon him the command of the remaining vessels of the Pe-

* Before Christ, 406.

loponneſians; but his force being too weak to attempt an engagement, yet capable of effecting ſomething, he ſailed to Thaſus, which he took; he afterwards made for the coaſt of Attica, but could do nothing there; he therefore returned back to his former ſtation, and after ſome time poſſeſſed himſelf of Lampſacus; this coming to the knowledge of the Athenians, their fleet, of an hundred and eighty ſhips, ſailed to Seſtos; and then to where Lyſander was, in the river Ægos; but ſenſible of their own weakneſs, did not dare to engage with him, though he dared them to do ſo.

However, Lyſander, ſometime after, a favourable opportunity offering, attacked them, and gave them ſo complete an overthrow, both by ſea and land, that only eight gallies eſcaped to Cyprus along with Conon. The conſequence of this complete victory was, that Lyſander, when he got to Lampſacus, did, with the conſent of all the confederates, put to death Philocles, a great number of officers, and three thouſand ſlaves; and reduced all the cities ſubject to the Athenians. Intending to beſiege Athens, he ſent thither all the garriſons from the above cities, that their proviſions might be the ſooner conſumed. It was not long before Athens was beſieged on the land ſide by Agis, king of Sparta; whilſt Lyſander did the ſame by ſea.

The

The Athenians defended the city, for a conſiderable time; but at length, diſtreſſed by famine, they ſued to Agis for a peace, who referred them to Sparta. Thither their ambaſſadors went, and propoſed to reſign to the Lacedæmonians their city and port; but they inſiſted that the walls of their cities ſhould be deſtroyed; this was refuſed, but afterwards they were forced to ſubmit, and Lyſander ordered the walls to be pulled down, whilſt the muſic of the whole army played in triumph. He forced them alſo to accept of an olygarchical government *, and appointed a council of thirty, who under a pretence of making laws, were in fact to enſlave the people; and who indeed became ſo many tyrants. Thus with the twenty-ſeventh year of the Peloponneſian war, was the deſtruction of this great city completed †.

The Athenians afterwards recovered themſelves; but it would be beſide the intention of this work, to enter upon that ſubject; and as to thoſe wars, in which they afterwards were engaged, they will come in with greater propriety, in another part of this work.

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* That is, a government adminiſtered by a few perſons; as at Genoa, and Venice.

† Before Chriſt, 404.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the wars of the Carthaginians.

THE Carthaginians were a colony from Tyre, their manners, language *, cuſtoms, laws, and religion, were the ſame with thoſe of their mother city. A Tyrian princeſs, called Eliſa, or more commonly Dido, was the leader of this colony; ſhe landed on the Mediterranean coaſt, in the gulph where Utica ſtood, alſo a Tyrian colony, and in the country of Africa, diſtant about fifteen miles from Tunis, where ſhe built the city of Carthage †; agreeing with the Africans to pay them an annual tribute for the ground it ſtood upon.

* That is the Hebrew; or at leaſt entirely derived from it.

† Or Cathadra, ſignifies in the Phœnician and Hebrew languages, the New City. It is ſuppoſed to have been founded, year of the world 3158, before Chriſt 846, before the building of Rome, 98 years; exiſting from its firſt beginning, above 700 years.

The

The Carthaginians were a crafty, artful, and induſtrious people; naturally addicted to lying, hypocriſy, and breach of faith; capable of the baſeſt frauds, and moſt perfidious actions. This was ſo notoriouſly their character, that to ſignify any remarkable diſhoneſty, it was uſual to call it, *Punica fides*, *Punic* faith*; and to denote a knaviſh, deceitful mind, no expreſſion was thought more proper and emphatical than this, *Punicum ingenium*, a *Carthaginian mind.* An immoderate love of profit prompted them to the baſeſt and moſt unjuſt actions. They were, beſides, auſtere and ſavage, haughty, and imperious, cowardly and cruel. This city, from its weak and low ſtate, grew, by inſenſible degrees, large and powerful. I have ſaid, that at the foundation of their city, they agreed to pay a yearly tribute for their ground to the Africans; to avoid the payment of this, gave riſe to the firſt of their wars; but this unjuſt undertaking did not ſucceed, and they were obliged to continue paying the tribute. But being afterwards more ſucceſsful againſt the Moors and Numidians, they cleared themſelves from the tribute, and extended their power over a great part of Africa. In time

* Punic comes from Pœni, the ſame with Phœni, or Phœnicians, becauſe their anceſtors, the Tyrians, came originally from Phœnicia.

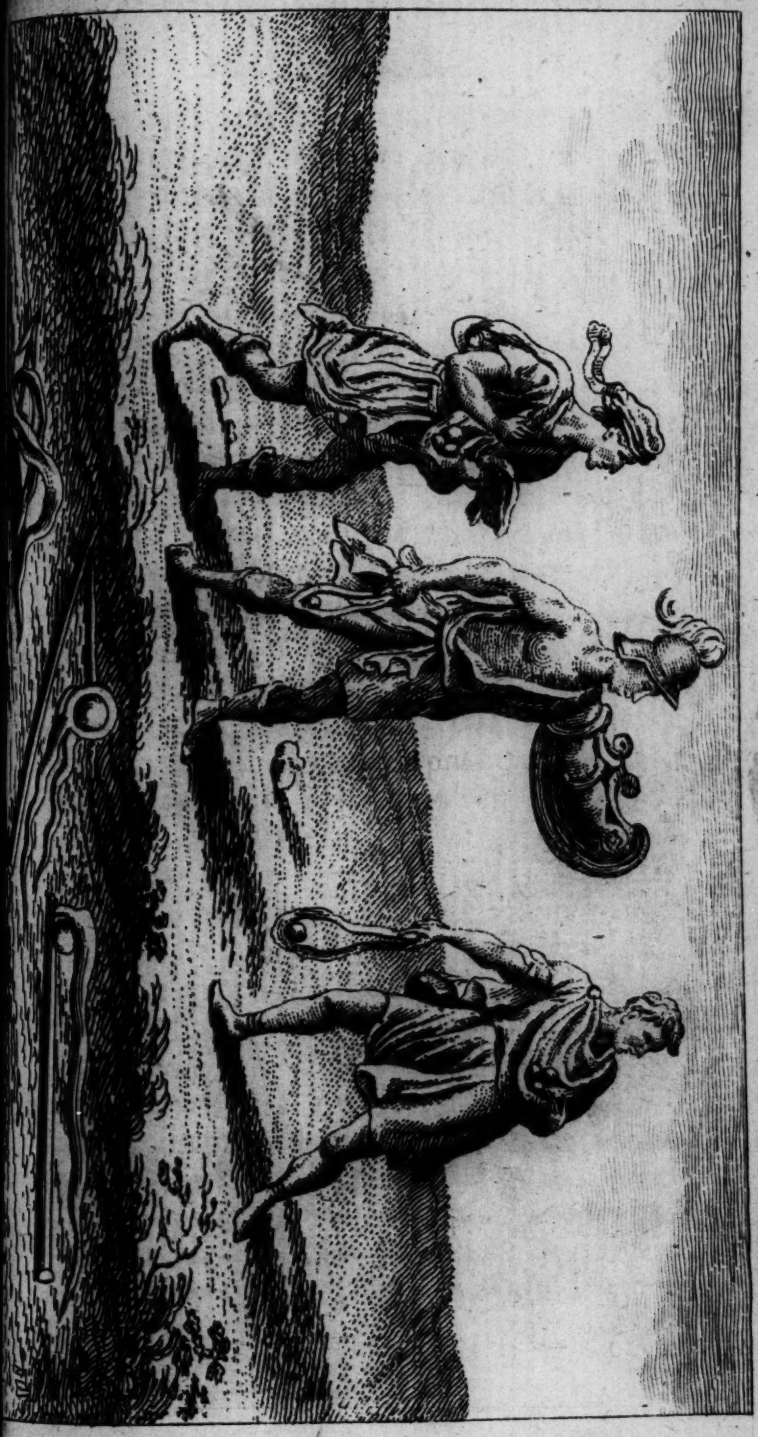
they

they poſſeſſed themſelves of the iſland of Sardinia, which was of great ſervice to them, the inhabitants of it being remarkable for their great ſkill, as ſlingers; in which exerciſe they were trained up from their infancy, and were ſo expert at it, that they could ſling large ſtones, of above a pound weight; and ſometimes threw leaden bullets, with ſo much violence, that they would pierce even the ſtrongeſt helmets, ſhields, and cuiraſſes; and were ſo dexterous at their aim, that they ſcarce ever miſſed the blow.

Spain was the next conqueſt they attempted; they were particularly allured to attack the inhabitants of this country, who were a martial people, that they might provide themſelves with well-diſciplined troops, to aſſiſt their future conqueſts, and to poſſeſs themſelves of the gold and ſilver mines with which Spain abounded.

The Spaniards having invaded the inhabitants of Cadiz, who were a colony from Tyre, as well as the Carthaginians, the latter firſt landed in Spain, to aſſiſt the former; but at what time is uncertain; however, they were ſucceſsful, which led them to extend their power in that country; but of which we know little more, than that they were twenty years before they entirely conquered that country.

Among other conqueſts, that the Carthaginians had in view, that of Sicily was one: what



what favoured this attempt, was a treaty they entered into with Xerxes king of Perſia, by which he engaged them to invade the Greeks in Sicily, and Italy, that he might be better enabled himſelf to head his forces againſt Greece. For this enterprize, the Carthaginians made great preparations for three years together. They raiſed a land army of three hundred thouſand men, a fleet of two thouſand ſhips of war, and of ſmall veſſels of burden above three thouſand. This great power ſailed from Carthage, under Hamilcar, the greateſt commander of that age, and arrived at Palermo, from whence, after refreſhing his troops, he marched a little way, to Hymera, and beſieged it. Theron, the commander, being hard preſſed by the enemy, implored aid of Gelon, who had made himſelf maſter of Syracuſe. He haſtened to his aſſiſtance, with fifty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe. The beſieged being animated with new courage upon receiving this ſuccour, defended themſelves with reſolution.

Gelon was well verſed in the art of war, and particularly fertile in ſtratagems. A courier who had been diſpatched for Selinuntum, with a letter directed to Hamilcar, to let him know at what time he might expect the cavalry, which he had required of them; about the time agreed on, Gelon ſent a body of his own cavalry, equal in number; the enemy imagining theſe came from Selinuntum, received

ceived them into their camp; whereupon they ſlew Hamilcar, and burned his fleet. Gelon availed himſelf of this opportunity, to fall upon the Carthaginians with all his forces. They at firſt made a brave reſiſtance, but being informed that their general was ſlain, and ſeeing their fleet in flames, they loſt all courage, and betook themſelves to flight. Above a hundred and fifty thouſand of them were ſlain; the remainder of the army, having retired to a place where they were deſtitute of every thing, could not defend themſelves long, but were ſoon under a neceſſity, of ſurrendering at diſcretion.

When the Carthaginians received the melancholy tidings of the total defeat of their army, a general conſternation overſpread the whole city. They carried their terror ſo far, as to think the enemy already at their gates. They, without delay, ſent ambaſſadors to Gelon, deſiring peace upon any conditions whatever. He heard them with great indulgence, and granted them a peace, without exacting any other conditions, than their paying two thouſand talents towards the charges of the war. He moreover required of them to build two temples, wherein this treaty of peace ſhould be depoſited, for the public inſpection at all times. Giſco, the ſon of Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general, ſuffered for his father's misfortune; being ſent into baniſhment. He lived

lived the remainder of his life at Selinuntum, a city of Sicily.

Gelon being returned to Syracuſe, aſſembled the citizens, and deſired all the citizens to appear in arms. He entered the aſſembly himſelf unarmed, and without his guards; there he laid before the people, an account of all the actions of his life. His ſpeech was received with univerſal applauſe, he was, by the unanimous conſent of all preſent, proclaimed king, and after his death, the crown was beſtowed on his two brothers.

After the defeat of the Athenians before Syracuſe, which has already been taken notice of, the Segeſtans, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of the Athenians againſt the Syracuſans, dreading the reſentment of their enemies, and being attacked by the people of Selinuntum, applied to the Carthaginians for aid. The latter deliberated for ſome time what courſe it would be adviſeable for them to take, as the affair was attended with ſome difficulties. The avaritious Carthaginians would gladly have poſſeſſed themſelves of a city, which was ſo conveniently ſituated for them; but they feared the power of the Syracuſans, which had ſo lately deſtroyed a numerous army of the Athenians. It however was, at laſt, reſolved to aſſiſt the Segeſtans.

Hannibal was appointed general in this war, he was at that time one of the Suffetes; which was the chief dignity of the ſtate. He

was

was grandſon to Hamilcar, who had been vanquiſhed by Gelon, and ſlain before Himera; he was ſon to Giſco, who had been condemned to baniſhment, as has been obſerved above.

He left Carthage, animated with an ardent deſire to revenge his family and country, and wipe away the diſhonour of the former defeat. Both his army and fleet were very conſiderable. Having landed at a place called the Well of Lilybæum, he firſt of all laid ſiege to Selinuntum. The beſieged defended the place with great vigour, and even the women diſcovered a fortitude and reſolution uncommon in their ſex. After a long reſiſtance, the city was taken by ſtorm, and the booty was abandoned to the ſoldiers.

The conqueror was guilty of the moſt horrid barbarities, ſparing neither age nor ſex. He however allowed ſuch inhabitants as had fled, to reſide in the city, after the fortifications had been demoliſhed, upon condition of paying tribute to the Carthaginians. Hannibal then laid ſiege to Hymera, which he, in like manner, took by ſtorm; the inhabitants he treated with greater ſeverity than thoſe of Selinuntum. He inflicted tortures, of all ſorts, upon three thouſand priſoners, and at laſt cauſed them to be ſlain, at the very place where his grandfather had been ſlain by Gelon's cavalry; in order to make ſatisfaction

to

to his manes, by the blood of these unhappy victims.

After these expeditions, Hannibal returned to Carthage; whereupon the citizens came in a body to meet him, and received him with the loudest acclamations of joy. The Carthaginians were by these successes encouraged to make an attempt to get possession of all Sicily. They pitched upon Hannibal to be their general a second time, three years after; and when he desired to be excused on account of his great age, they gave him Imilcon, son of Hanno, one of his own family, for lieutenant. Extraordinary preparations were made for this war. The fleet and army were in a short time in readiness, and set out for Sicily.

Authors differ with regard to the number of their forces; we are told by some, that they amounted to six score thousand men; others say, that they made three hundred thousand. The enemy neglected no necessary preparations in order to make a vigorous defence. The Syracusans had sent ambassadors to all their allies, to solicit succours; and to all the cities of Sicily, to inculcate to them the necessity of exerting themselves vigorously in defence of their freedom.

Agrigentum, a city equally remarkable for its wealth, and the strength of its fortifications, was the first to which Hannibal laid siege at the beginning of this campaign.

Conceiving

Conceiving it to be impregnable except on one ſide, he turned his whole force againſt that. He cauſed banks and terraſſes to be raiſed as high as the walls; and to this uſe he put the rubbiſh and fragments of the tombs round the city, which he had cauſed to be demoliſhed upon that account. Not long after the general, and a great part of his army, was ſwept away by the plague. The Carthaginians looking upon this calamity as an inſtance of the divine vengeance, gave ſtrict orders that no more tombs ſhould be demoliſhed, that prayers ſhould be made according to the practice of Carthage, and that a child ſhould be ſacrificed to Saturn, and ſeveral victims thrown into the ſea, in honour of Neptune.

The beſieged were, in proceſs of time, ſo reduced by famine, that deſpairing to receive any aſſiſtance, they at laſt formed a reſolution to quit the city. They choſe the next night for the execution of their deſign. The unfortunate exiles arrived at Gela, where they were received by the inhabitants with great kindneſs, and met with all the aſſiſtance which their unhappy ſituation required.

No ſooner had they quitted the city, but Imilcon entered, and put all he found in it to the ſword. As Agrigentum was one of the moſt wealthy cities of Sicily, its booty proved extremely rich: a prodigious quantity of pictures, vaſes, and ſtatues of all kinds,

kinds, were found there; the citizens being remarkable for their refined taſte in the polite arts.

Agrigentum held out the ſiege during the ſpace of eight months. Imilcon having refreſhed his forces in it, during the winter, departed in the beginning of ſpring, after having cauſed it to be razed to the ground. He next beſieged Gela and took it, though it was powerfully aſſiſted by the tyrant Dionyſius, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of Syracuſe. Imilcon put an end to the war, by making a treaty with Dionyſius.

By the cond tions of it, the Carthaginians were to remain in poſſeſſion, not only of their ancient acquiſitions in Sicily, but of the Sycanians, Selinuntum, Agrigentum, and Hymera; and moreover of that of Gela, and Camarina, with leave for the inhabitants to dwell in their diſmantled cities, provided they paid tribute to Carthage; that the Leontines, the Meſſenians, and all the Sicilians, ſhould retain their own laws, and live in a free and independent ſtate: laſtly, that Dionyſius ſhould continue to govern the Syracuſans. This treaty being concluded, Imilcon returned to Carthage, where the plague continued to rage violently.

The intention of Dionyſius in concluding the above-mentioned peace with the Carthaginians, was no other than to gain time, in order

order to confirm his new authority, and make the requiſite preparations for the war which he propoſed to wage with them.

As he was aware that they were a very formidable people, he neglected nothing that might enable him to attack them with ſucceſs, and his ſubjects conſpired with his deſign to their utmoſt. Allured by the promiſes of Dionyſius, all the ableſt artiſts and workmen flocked every day to Syracuſe. The city in general had the appearance of a ſhop, in every part of which men were ſeen making ſwords, helmets, ſhields, and military engines; and in preparing all things requiſite for the conſtruction of ſhips. Veſſels of five benches of oars had at that time been but newly invented.

Dionyſius neglected nothing that was capable of exciting the diligence of the workmen, and herein he was particularly ſucceſsful, ſo that all things being in readineſs, and a conſiderable number of forces drawn together from different countries, he addreſſed the Syracuſans in particular, explained to them his deſign, and repreſented the Carthaginians as the natural and inveterate enemies of the Greeks; he declared that they aimed at poſſeſſing themſelves of all Sicily; forcing all the Grecian cities to receive their yoke, and that if they were ſuffered to proceed, the Syracuſans themſelves would ſhortly be attacked;

tacked, that the plague alone, prevented the Carthaginians from attempting ſome enterpriſe againſt them; and as it continued to rage with as much fury as ever, there could not be a more favourable opportunity for the Syracuſans.

This ſpeech was received with great applauſe by the people of Syracuſe, who mortally hated the Carthaginians. The firſt ſtep which Dionyſius took, was to abandon to the fury of the populace the perſons and poſſeſſions of the Carthaginians, without making a formal declaration of war, or even complaining of any injury received.

At that time, there was a great multitude of them at Syracuſe, who carried on their commerce there, under the faith of treaties. The rabble flew to their houſes, ſeized upon their goods, and treated them with the utmoſt barbarity, in revenge, as they ſaid, for their cruel treatment of the natives of the country. This gave riſe to the ſame acts of treachery and inhumanity all over Sicily: and thus the war with the Carthaginians began. Dionyſius, after this, ſent deputies to the Carthaginians, deſiring them to reſtore all the Sicilian cities to their liberties, threatening that he would otherwiſe cauſe all the Carthaginians found in them to be maſſacred. The Carthaginians were in great conſternation upon hearing this.

The firſt attempt of Dionyſius was upon Motya, from whence the Carthaginians ſettled in Sicily, drew moſt of their ſupplies; the ſiege he puſhed ſo vigorouſly, that Imilcon the Carthaginian admiral found himſelf unable to relieve the place.

Dionyſius, in battering the city, made uſe of all ſorts of military engines; the city however held out for a long time, but being at laſt taken by ſtorm, all the inhabitants were put to the ſword, excepting only thoſe who fled to the temples. Dionyſius granted the booty to the ſoldiers, and returned to Syracuſe, having left in Motya a ſtrong garriſon, and a governor in whom he could confide.

Imilcon being raiſed to the dignity of the ſuffetes, returned to Sicily the year after with an army, ſuperior in number to that which he commanded before. He landed in Palermo, poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral cities, and recovered Motya, though it was ſo ſtrongly garriſoned. Elate with theſe ſucceſſes, he formed a reſolution to lay ſiege to Syracuſe, and accordingly cauſed Mago to ſet ſail for it, marching his infantry by land himſelf.

The fleet of Imilcon, which conſiſted of upwards of two hundred ſhips, entered the great harbour of Syracuſe, attended by five hundred barks; whilſt the land army, which

is

is ſaid to have amounted to three hundred thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, was perceived advancing on the other ſide of the city. Imilcon having pitched his tent in the temple of Jupiter, the reſt of the army encamped about a mile and a half from the city.

Imilcon marched up to it, and offered the inhabitants battle, but they thought it adviſeable to remain within their walls. Hereupon Imilcon returned to his camp, looking upon the city as a prey that muſt very ſhortly fall into his hands.

During the ſpace of thirty days, he ravaged all the adjacent tracts; he ſeized upon the ſuburb of Acradina, and pillaged the Temples of Ceres and Proſerpine. In order to fortify his camp, he ordered the tombs round the city to be demoliſhed, and among others, that of Gelon, and his wife Demarata, which was a noble piece of architecture.

Imilcon's good fortune forſook him all on a ſudden; an infectious diſtemper ſeizing upon his army, ſwept away thouſands; the infection was greatly increaſed, by the extraordinary heat of the ſummer.

There could not be a more favourable opportunity for Dionyſius, who took care not to let it ſlip. Imilcon's army being much reduced by the diſtemper above-mentioned, was not in a condition to make a vigorous reſiſtance. Moſt of the Carthaginian ſhips

were either taken, or burnt. Upon the approach of night, Imilcon took the firſt opportunity to ſend to Dionyſius, for leave to retire with the remainder of his army, offering him at the ſame time, the ſum of three hundred talents, which he declared to be all the money he had with him.

Dionyſius granted leave only for the Carthaginians, with whom Imilcon retired privately in the night, leaving the reſt to the victor's mercy. Imilcon, upon his return to Carthage, repaired to his own houſe; ſhut his doors againſt the citizens, and even againſt his children; and laid violent hands upon himſelf, being rendered quite deſperate by his ill ſucceſs.

The ſufferings of the Carthaginians did not end with the life of Imilcon; the Africans, highly enraged that their countrymen were left behind to be butchered by the Syracuſans, ran together in a tumultuous manner, and having poſſeſſed themſelves of Tunis, marched directly to Carthage. As their army amounted to upwards of two hundred thouſand men, the citizens were almoſt driven to deſpair, by their coming. As they imagined that they had incurred the wrath of heaven, their firſt care was to appeaſe the the Gods. They then uſed their utmoſt endeavours to put their city in a poſture of defence.

It

It happened luckily for the Carthaginians, that this formidable army of Africans was deſtitute of a leader, of proviſions, and military engines; and entirely undiſciplined. Factions and diviſions ſoon aroſe amongſt them; which was but a natural conſequence of their want of order; add to this, that the famine increaſed every day; ſo that at laſt this vaſt army diſperſed, and Carthage was freed from its fears.

The war of the Carthaginians againſt Sicily was not diſcontinued during this time. Mago, their commander, who was one of the ſuffetes, met with a total overthrow there, and loſt his life. Thereupon the Carthaginians ſued for a peace, which was granted them; upon condition that they would draw all their forces out of Sicily, and defray the charges of the war.

To theſe terms they made no objection, but alledging that it was not in their power to deliver up their cities, without having received an order from their republic, they obtained a truce ſo long, as to afford them an opportunity to ſend to Carthage. They availed themſelves of this time, to raiſe and diſcipline a new army, over which Mago, ſon to him that had been lately ſlain, was appointed commander. Mago arrived in Sicily, and the truce being expired, gave Dionyſius battle. In this engagement Leptinus, brother to Dionyſius, was killed, with upwards of four-

teen thouſand Syracuſans. By this victory the Carthaginians obtained a peace upon advantageous conditions; by theſe they retained all the cities they poſſeſſed in Sicily, with the addition of ſome fortreſſes, beſides a thouſand talents, by which the charges of the war were to be defrayed. Dionyſius, ſome time after, formed a new enterprize in Sicily againſt the Carthaginians, with as little ſucceſs as the former. He died not long after, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Dionyſius.

Syracuſe was torn by civil wars and diſturbances after the death of Dionyſius the elder. Dionyſius the younger, who had been driven out, reſtored himſelf by force, and treated the inhabitants with great cruelty. One party applied to Icetes, who was of Syracuſan extraction, and tyrant of the Leontines, for aid.

The Carthaginians immediately ſent a powerful fleet to Sicily, thinking there could not offer a more favourable opportunity to poſſeſs themſelves of the whole iſland. In this emergency ſuch of the Syracuſans as were inſpired with the true ſpirit of patriotiſm, applied to the Corinthians, who had often aſſiſted them when in diſtreſs; whereupon the latter ſent Timoleon, a man renowned for his virtues, to their aſſiſtance.

Timoleon arrived at Rhegium, with a fleet of only ten ſhips, having, by a lucky ſtratagem, baffled the vigilance of the Carthaginians,

thaginians, who being appriſed by Icetes of his deſtination, propoſed to intercept him in his paſſage. Timoleon, though his army did not exceed the number of a thouſand men, advanced reſolutely to the relief of Syracuſe.

His army received a conſiderable increaſe during his march. The Syracuſans were in a deplorable condition; they ſaw the Carthaginians in poſſeſſion of the port, Icetes of the city, and Dionyſius of the citadel. Dionyſius thinking it vain to attempt a defence, put the citadel, with all the forces, ammunition, and arms belonging to it, into his hands, and by his aſſiſtance, made his eſcape to Corinth.

Timoleon having found means to repreſent to the foreign troops in Mago's army, which conſiſted chiefly of ſuch; and amongſt whom there was a conſiderable number of Greeks, that Greeks acted quite contrary to their own intereſt, in endeavouring to put barbarians in poſſeſſion of Sicily; from whence they would not fail to paſs over to Greece. Theſe diſcourſes being ſpread among Mago's ſoldiers, furniſhed him with a pretext to retire, leſt he ſhould be betrayed to the enemy. Mago being gone, Icetes was unable to hold out long; ſo that the Corinthians ſoon poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole city.

The Carthaginians ſoon after diſpatched a more powerful fleet to Sicily; it conſiſted of

two hundred ſhips of war, and a thouſand tranſports; the ſoldiers who embarked on board it, amounted to upwards of ſeventy thouſand men. They landed at Lilybæum, under the command of Hamilcar and Hannibal, and formed a reſolution to fall firſt upon the Carthaginians. Timoleon, followed by three thouſand Syracuſans, and four thouſand mercenaries, marched out to meet them.

Timoleon, though one thouſand out of his ſmall army deſerted him through fear, led the remainder boldly againſt the enemy, who were aſſembled upon the banks of a little river called Crimiſa. Both parties ſoon came to an engagement, and notwithſtanding the great diſparity of numbers, the Carthaginians were defeated, and above ten thouſand of them ſlain, of whom three thouſand were citizens of Carthage. Their camp was likewiſe taken, and with it great treaſures, and a conſiderable number of priſoners.

Timoleon, after this victory, left the mercenary troops in the Carthaginian territories, to ravage and deſtroy them; and returned to Syracuſe. The Corinthians continuing to take ſeveral cities after the victory abovementioned, the Carthaginians found themſelves under a neceſſity of ſuing for peace. It was accordingly granted them, upon the following conditions: namely, that they ſhould retain

retain only the lands that lay beyond the river * Halycus; that all the natives ſhould be at liberty to retire with their families and effects to Syracuſe, and that they ſhould never enter into a league, or hold any correſpondence with the tyrants of that city.

Next, in order of time, follow the wars carried on by the Carthaginians in Africa, againſt Agathocles, who was originally no more than the ſon of a potter; being at firſt ſupported by the Carthaginians themſelves; he made himſelf tyrant of Syracuſe.

The Carthaginians, for a time, kept him within bounds, and Hamilcar, their general, obliged him to conſent to a peace; which reſtored tranquility to Sicily. But he did not long obſerve the articles of it, for he declared war with the Carthaginians, who being led by Hamilcar gave him a total overthrow, and laid him under a neceſſity of taking refuge in Syracuſe. The Carthaginians beſieged him in that city, and if they had taken it might have poſſeſſed themſelves of all Sicily with eaſe.

Agathocles, whoſe forces were far ſurpaſſed in number by their's, formed the daring reſolution to make Africa the ſeat of the war, and to lay ſiege to Carthage, at a time when

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he was unable either to defend himſelf in Sicily, or ſuſtain the ſiege of Syracuſe.

His ſucceſs was in a great meaſure owing to his ſecrecy; he did not impart his deſign to any body, but thought it ſufficient to declare that he had hit upon an expedient to free the Syracuſans from the dangers that impended over them; that a ſiege might be eaſily born, but that ſuch as thought it inſupportable, were at liberty to quit the city; only one thouſand ſix hundred departed. He left his brother Antander, behind with forces and proviſions ſufficient to enable him to hold out a long time. This done, Agathocles ſet ſail with two of his ſons, Archagathus and Heracledes, without communicating his intention to any body.

He never gave the leaſt intimation of his deſign till he had entered Africa. There he made a ſpeech to the ſoldiers, in which he explained the motives which had induced him to take ſuch a ſtep, and endeavoured to excite their courage. The ſoldiers received this ſpeech with great applauſe, and ſeemed to think Carthage already their own. Agathocles ſeeing his ſoldiers in the very diſpoſition he wiſhed them in, immediately cauſed every ſhip in his fleet to be burned, in order to lay his ſoldiers under a neceſſity of conquering, by leaving them no hopes but from victory.

The

The pretext he made uſe of, in order to excite the ſoldiers to this action, was, that he had made a vow to Ceres and Proſerpine to burn his ſhips.

Agathocles ſeeing the ſoldiers beginning to grow dejected after burning their fleet, marched directly to a place called the Great City, which belonged to the domain of Carthage. The beauty and fertility of the country thro' which the ſoldiers paſſed to this place, animated their courage to ſuch a degree, that they advanced full of confidence to the Great City which they took by force of arms, and enriched themſelves with the booty, which was entirely abandoned to them.

They took Tunis, a city not far from Carthage, with equal eaſe. The Carthaginians were in the utmoſt conſternation, when they were informed that the enemy had penetrated a great way into their country. They took it for granted, that their army before Syracuſe had been routed, and their fleet loſt.

The people ran in a tumultuous manner to the great ſquare, and the ſenate aſſembled in confuſion. They were greatly perplexed what expedient to have recourſe to, in order to prevent the city from falling into the enemies hands. They had no army in readineſs, and they had not time to wait the coming of ſuccours. It was at laſt judged adviſeable to arm the citizens. The forces raiſed in this manner, amounted to forty thouſand foot, a

thouſand horſe, and two thouſand armed chariots.

Hanno and Bomilcar commanded theſe forces in conjunction, though ſome private animoſity ſubſiſted between them. They marched directly againſt the enemy, and as ſoon as ever they came in ſight of them, drew out their troops in order of battle. The army of Agathocles did not amount to more than thirteen, or fourteen, thouſand men; the engagement proved very hot, Hanno with his ſacred cohort, the choiceſt part of the Carthaginian forces, made a long ſtand againſt the Greeks, and ſometimes even put them into diſorder; but he at laſt fell, being cruſhed under a ſhower of ſtones, and all covered over with wounds. Bomilcar, induced by intereſted motives, thought proper to quit the field, and being followed by the whole army left Agathocles in poſſeſſion of it. The latter after a ſhort purſuit, plundered the camp of the Carthaginians. By this victory Agathocles was enabled to take a great number of fortreſſes, and it induced many Africans to eſpouſe his cauſe.

The Carthaginians imputing their misfortunes to the wrath of heaven, did their utmoſt to appeaſe the Gods, and then ſent expreſſes to Hamilcar in Sicily, to inform him of what had happened, and requeſt his aſſiſtance.

The

The deputies received orders to propagate a report, that Agathocles had been ſlain, and all his forces cut off, and his fleet taken by the Carthaginians. To confirm this report, the irons of the veſſels ſaid to be taken, were produced; and was ſo generally credited at Syracuſe, that many were for capitulating; when a galley of thirty oars brought advice of Agathocles's victory to the beſieged. The inhabitants hereupon reſumed their courage and reſolution, and Hamilcar having made a new effort to ſtorm the city, met with ſo ſignal a defeat, that he found himſelf under a neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege. He immediately diſpatched five thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of his country. Returning not long after to the ſiege, he formed a deſign to ſurpriſe the city by night; but his deſign taking air, he fell into the enemies hands, and was by them tortured to death. Hamilcar's head being ſent to Agathocles, he cauſed it to be thrown into the enemy's camp; and thereby redoubled their former conſternation.

Agathocles, after his unexpected ſucceſs in Africa, thought it high time to look after the affairs of Sicily: wherefore he ſailed back thither, leaving his African army under the care of his ſon Archagathus. No ſooner was his arrival in Sicily known, but many towns eſpouſed his cauſe; however, he was ſhortly after recalled to Africa by bad news.

Such

Such a revolution had his abſence occaſioned, that all his addreſs was not ſufficient to reſtore things to their former condition. All his fortreſſes had yielded to the enemy; the Africans had forſaken him; ſome of his troops were loſt, and the remainder were not in a condition to reſiſt the Carthaginians; add to this, that he was unable to tranſport them to Sicily, being entirely unprovided with ſhips. Being reduced to this extremity, he turned his whole thoughts to making his eſcape, and accordingly ſtole away, attended by very few perſons, from the dangers which threatened him. His ſoldiers, fired with indignation at being thus baſely betrayed, murdered his ſons, and ſurrendered to the enemy. Agathocles himſelf was, not long after, poiſoned by one Mænon, who had formerly been his minion.

Next, in order of time, follow the wars carried on by the Carthaginians in Sicily, in the time of Pyrrhus king of Epirus. The Romans, who were not ignorant of that prince's deſigns, that they might be able to ward off any attempts he might make againſt Italy, renewed their treaties with the Carthaginians who were equally apprehenſive of his invading Sicily. A new article was added to thoſe of the former treaties, whereby both parties bound themſelves, to afford each other mutual aſſiſtance, in caſe either ſhould be attacked by Pyrrhus. The Romans were by no

no means wrong in their conjecture, for Pyrrhus ſoon after invaded Italy. The Carthaginians, in purſuance of the above-mentioned treaty, thought themſelves bound to aſſiſt the Romans. They therefore ſent Mago to their aid, with a fleet of ſix-ſcore ſail. The ſenate thanked the Carthaginians for their friendly offer of aſſiſtance, but thought it adviſeable to decline it upon that occaſion.

Mago ſhortly after went to Pyrrhus, under pretext of offering the mediation of the Carthaginians, in order to put an end to his difference with the Romans, but his real intention was, to ſound him with regard to his deſigns upon Sicily. They were apprehenſive that either Pyrrhus or the Romans would concern themſelves with the affairs of that iſland, and ſend forces thither to ſeize upon it. Herein they were right, for the Syracuſans, who had been for a conſiderable time beſieged by the Carthaginians, had importuned Pyrrhus for aid; whereupon that prince ſetting ſail from Tarentum, paſſed the ſtrait and landed in Sicily. At firſt his progreſs was ſo rapid, and his ſucceſſes ſo great, that the Carthaginians were ſoon deprived of all Sicily, excepting only the town of Lilybæum.

Mago having attempted in vain to take this town, returned again into Italy. Sicily ſoon after became ſubject again to its former maſters, and Hiero was appointed to the chief public

public employment there; and not long after was unanimouſly elected king. Hiero was appointed to purſue the war againſt the Carthaginians, and did ſo with ſome ſucceſs. But both parties ſoon found it neceſſary to deſiſt from their mutual hoſtilities, and to join together againſt a common enemy, the Romans; who now thought themſelves able to extend their arms beyond the bounds of Italy. Accordingly, thinking Sicily would be of advantage to them, they croſſed into it with an intention to make themſelves maſters of it; which produced a quarrel between them and the Carthaginians, and gave riſe to the firſt Punic war.

The firſt pretence the Romans made uſe of to begin a war with the Carthaginians * was, going to the aſſiſtance of Meſſana, which lay oppoſite to Rhegium, and which had deſired their aſſiſtance againſt the Carthaginians, who had got poſſeſſion of their citadel. Appius Claudius, the Roman conſul, who was then at Rhegium, croſſed the ſtrait with his army, having deceived the Carthaginian general by an ingenious ſtratagem. He drove the Carthaginians out of the citadel, and the city was immediately ſurrendered

* Year of the world, 3741, of Carthage 583, of Rome 485, and before Chriſt 623 years.

to

to him. But the Carthaginians hanged their own general, for giving up the citadel in ſo cowardly a manner, and renewed the ſiege, aſſiſted by Hiero, king of Syracuſe. But the conſul defeated them ſeparately, raiſed the ſiege, and laid the country about it waſte, the enemy not daring to oppoſe him; this was the firſt warlike attempt of the Romans, out of the bounds of Italy.

Hiero afterwards made an alliance with the Romans; in the mean time, the Carthaginians intending to proſecute the war in Sicily, ſent into that iſland a very great number of forces. Agrigentum being their place of arms, the Romans attacked and took it, after a ſiege of ſeven months, and gained one battle.

This great ſucceſs was very encouraging; however, the Romans wiſely conſidered, that they could never be able to drive the Carthaginians out of Sicily, whilſt they remained maſters of the ſea, and without a ſingle veſſel, as was at that time the caſe. The forces they had ſent into Sicily, were tranſported thither in borrowed veſſels; but having taken a ſhip upon their own coaſts, they uſed this as a model, and, as faſt as poſſible, raiſed a fleet. The command of it was given to Duillius the conſul, who ſailed * in queſt of

* Polyb. l. i. Year of the world 3745. of Rome, 489.

the

the Carthaginians, whom he found near Myle, and an engagement enſued.

To remedy the clumſineſs of their ſhips, the Romans had invented a machine, (called the *corvus*, *crow* or *crane*) by means of which, they could grapple the enemy's ſhips, board them, and in an inſtant come to a cloſe engagement. Hannibal (not the great Hannibal) commanded the Carthaginian fleet, conſiſting of one hundred and thirty veſſels. The Carthaginians preſuming on their great knowledge in naval matters, deſpiſed the ignorance of the Romans in theſe affairs, but were not a little alarmed at ſeeing the above-mentioned engines, and the more ſo, when they were thrown with violence upon their ſhips, and grappled them in ſpight of all reſiſtance; the conſequence was, that they were obliged to fight in the ſame manner as they did by land. The Romans attacked them with great fury, killed a vaſt number of Carthaginians; who loſt four-ſcore of their ſhips. The Romans, encouraged by this ſucceſs, increaſed their navy.

Four years after, having got three hundred and thirty veſſels, and embarked one hundred and forty thouſand men, they again met the enemy, who had three hundred and fifty ſhips, and men in proportion, under the command of Hanno and Hamilcar.

The engagement began near Ecnomus, in Sicily; both parties fought with great cou-

rage

rage and obſtinacy, but the Carthaginians were again defeated, loſt ſixty of their ſhips to the enemy, beſides thirty ſunk, and took none; the Romans, however, loſt twenty-four in the engagement. This encouraged the Romans, as ſoon as they could get ready, to ſail for Africa, where they landed, and took Clypea; which had a good haven.

They ſoon diſperſed themſelves over the country, took a great many cattle, and twenty thouſand priſoners. Regulus was the commander now of the Romans; who took ſeveral caſtles, and beſieged Adis; a very ſtrong fortification. The Carthaginians, alarmed and irritated at their ſucceſs, marched againſt them to relieve this fortreſs, and poſted themſelves on a hill, which over-looked the Roman army, though an inconvenient ſituation for them, whoſe chief ſtrength lay in their cavalry and elephants, which were of little ſervice, except in an open flat country. The Roman conſul, ſenſible of this, determined to attack them before they could deſcend the hill; he did ſo, defeated them, and plundered their camp, and afterwards took Tunis, where he encamped, being nearer to Carthage.

The Carthaginians, who had the Numidians alſo for their enemies, feared the attack of their city. They indeed received ſome overtures from Regulus for a peace, but of ſuch

ſuch an unreaſonable nature, as they could not accept of.

But at this critical moment, Xantippus, the Lacedæmonian, came to them with a number of Grecian troops. The Carthaginians were ſoon ſenſible of his great military abilities, and forced him to take upon him the command of their army. A battle was immediately determined on; their army conſiſted of twelve thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, and an hundred elephants. The Romans had fifteen thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe. Xantippus placed the elephants in front; behind them, the Carthaginian infantry in one body; part of the foreign troops were placed on the right, between the foot and the horſe; and the light armed ſoldiers in platoons, at the head of the two wings of the cavalry.

Regulus, to defend his forces from the elephants, whom they feared moſt, ordered his light armed ſoldiers to draw up in the front of the legions; the cohorts * behind one another, were poſted in the rear, and the wings were compoſed of cavalry. As ſoon as the ſignal was given, Xantippus ordered the elephants to advance, to break the enemy's ranks, whilſt the two wings of horſe were

* A little body of troops among the Romans, which formed the tenth part of a legion.

to

to attack the Romans in flank. As the Carthaginian cavalry were ſuperior to that of the Romans, the latter gave way; whilſt the left wing, to avoid the elephants, and to ſhew their contempt of the enemy's mercenaries, attacked and drove them to their camp.

The firſt ranks, who were oppoſed to the elephants, were thrown into diſorder, and trampled under foot; though not till they had nobly defended themſelves. The reſt of the main body kept their ground for ſome time; but the rear being attacked in flank by the enemy's cavalry, and forced to face about, and receive it, and thoſe who had broke through, the elephants coming to the phalanx of the Carthaginians, which had not yet engaged, and which received them in good order, the Romans were routed, and entirely defeated. The greateſt part of them were cruſhed to death by the enormous weight of the elephants: and the remainder who kept their ranks, were ſhot through and through with arrrows from the enemy's horſe.

A ſmall number only eſcaped; and as they were in an open country, the horſe and elephants killed a great number of them. Regulus himſelf was alſo taken priſoner, and about five hundred more, who went off with him.

As to the Carthaginians, they, on their their part, loſt eight hundred mercenaries who

who were oppoſed to the left wing of the Romans; and of the latter, only two thouſand eſcaped; who, by purſuing the enemy's right wing, had drawn themſelves out of the engagement; theſe fled to Clypea. All the reſt were left dead in the field, except Regulus, and thoſe who eſcaped with him, as already mentioned. Theſe the Carthaginians carried with them, in triumph, to Carthage, having firſt ſtripped the dead. This ſudden and great change in favour of the Carthaginians filled them with the utmoſt joy; all ſexes and all ages crowded the temples to praiſe the Gods, and ſpent ſeveral enſuing days in feſtivities and rejoicings.

Regulus, after ſome years impriſonment, was permitted to go to Rome, to propoſe an exchange of priſoners, upon a ſolemn promiſe of returning, if he did not obtain the exchange; he failed in his buſineſs, but kept his word with the Carthaginians; who were ſo enraged at his ill ſucceſs, that they impriſoned him for a long time in a diſmal dungeon, from whence, after cutting off his eyelids, they brought him out immediately into the ſun, when its beams darted the ſtrongeſt heat.

They then put him into a kind of cheſt ſtuck full of nails, whoſe points wounding him, did not leave him at eaſe for a moment, by day or night. At laſt, after having long tormented him in this manner, they nailed him

him to a croſs, their uſual puniſhment, and ſo left him to end his miſerable days.

The ill ſucceſs of the Romans in Africa did not at all diſcourage them; they made yet greater preparations*, and, the next campaign, put to ſea again with three hundred and ſixty veſſels; they were met by the Carthaginians with two hundred ſail. They engaged off the coaſts of Sicily, when the Romans proved victorious, and took an hundred and fourteen ſhips. The next year, the Romans attacked Aſdrubal, the Carthaginian commander; whom they beat, and took near an hundred and forty elephants.

Two Roman conſuls were afterwards ſent with two hundred ſhips into Sicily, where they beſieged Lilybæum, the ſtrongeſt town which the Carthaginians poſſeſſed in that iſland. There were then ten thouſand regular forces in the town, under the command of Imilcon, the governor. Hannibal, the ſon of Hamilcar, ſoon brought as many more from Carthage, he having, with the moſt intrepid courage, forced a paſſage through the Roman fleet, and got ſafe into the port.

The Romans prepared for the attack; they brought forward their engines, beat down ſeveral towers with their battering rams, and daily gaining ground, greatly

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* Polybius, lib. viii.

alarmed

alarmed the beſieged. The governor therefore formed a deſign of ſetting fire to the engines of the Romans. With this view, he ſent out his forces by break of day, with torches in their hands, tow, and other combuſtible matters; and at the ſame time attacked all the engines. The beſiegers valiantly oppoſed their attempt; and both ſides behaved with great intrepidity, determined to die rather than to quit their ſeveral poſts. A dreadful ſlaughter enſued, and at length, the beſieged ſounded a retreat, and the Romans were left in poſſeſſion of their works.

The ſame night, Hannibal embarked, unknown to the enemy, and ſailed for Drepanum, where Adherbal commanded for the Carthaginians. This town, about one hundred and twenty furlongs from Lilybæum, had a commodious port, and was of very great importance to the Carthaginians. The ill ſucceſs of the beſieged, deterred them from attempting any thing further againſt the engines of the Romans, who in the mean time puſhed the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour. At length, a ſtorm coming ſuddenly on, ſome ſoldiers, in the pay of the Carthaginians, adviſed the governor to ſeize this opportunity to ſet fire once more to the engines of the beſiegers. They were intruſted in the execution, and every thing being got ready, all the engines were ſet on fire in a moment, and could not be extinguiſhed, the flames extending

tending every where, and the wind carrying the ſparks of ſmoke full in the eyes of the Romans, rendered them incapable of doing any thing; but left the beſieged in a capacity of ſeeing how to throw their fire, and direct their attacks upon the enemy. This accident determined the Romans to change the ſiege into blockade.

In the mean time, Claudius Pulcher the conſul, ſailed with a fleet to attack Adherbal, in Drepanum, unexpectedly, as he hoped; but the vigilance of the commander there was ſo great, that he attacked the Roman commander, before he could draw his ſhips up in line of battle, and gained a complete victory; only thirty veſſels got off, with the conſul, and ninety-three officers, and all their compliment of men, (a few ſoldiers excepted, who had eſcaped by ſhip-wreck,) were taken by the Carthaginians.

Lilybæum continued beſieged for ſeveral years; at laſt, the Romans fitted out another fleet of two hundred veſſels, which ſailed for that place, under the command of the conſul Lutatius; Hanno, who commanded the Carthaginian fleet, hoped to reach Eryx, unnoticed by the Romans, in order to unload his proviſions for the army there, and get a reinforcement; but the conſul having intelligence of this, or ſuſpecting his intentions, ſailed to another iſland, near the former. Early the next morning, he prepared to attack the ene-

my; but the wind being favourable to the Carthaginians, he was doubtful what to do; however, conſidering, that if the Carthaginian fleet unloaded its proviſions, they would be lighter and fitter for action than they were now, and that they would alſo be reinforced with men, he determined to attack them.

The engagement begun, and the Carthaginians could not ſuſtain the attack; they had fifty veſſels ſunk, and ſeventy taken, and all their crew; the reſt ſailed back to the iſland they came from. The Romans made one thouſand priſoners on this occaſion, and then ſailed back to Lilybæum.

The Carthaginians were greatly alarmed at this unexpected defeat, and, not long after, concluded a peace with the Romans; by which they were obliged to evacuate all Sicily, and to pay the Romans, in ten years time, a very large ſum of money. Thus was an end put to the firſt Punic war, which had continued twenty-four years *, without intermiſſion; the longeſt recorded in hiſtory.

The ſame year that the Carthaginians concluded this peace, they were involved in another war, which, though of a ſhort continuance, was much more dangerous, as the ſeat of it was in the republic itſelf, againſt

* Year of the world, 3763; before Chriſt, 241 years.

the

the mercenary troops, commonly called the African, or Lybyan war. Theſe mercenary troops, that had ſerved under Hamilcar in Sicily, and who had behaved bravely, on their return into Africa, found the ſtate of Carthage ſo exhauſted, that, far from being able to reward them, as promiſed, they could not even pay what was due to them. This, with ſome other concurring cauſes, occaſioned a war for three years and a half, which preyed upon the very vitals of the republic, and was attended with almoſt unparallelled inſtances of cruelty.

Theſe troops being arrived at Carthage, and being diſguſted at not receiving their pay, were with great difficulty perſuaded to leave the city, and to take up their quarters in and about Sicca. But ſtill not receiving their demands, they aſſembled to the number of twenty thouſand men, advanced to Tunis, and encamped before that city.

The Carthaginians did all they could to make up matters with them, but in vain; they grew more inſolent and rebellious, and formally declared war againſt the Carthaginians, divided their army into two bodies; with one of which, they moved towards Attica; whilſt the others marched to Hippo*, intending to lay ſiege to both places; great numbers at their ſolicitation, having ſent troops to them, from all the cities of Africa, except

* Or Hippacra.

the two cities above-mentioned, which drew their reſentment againſt them. This greatly diſtreſſed the Carthaginians; now deprived of their ſubſidies by the revolt of theſe cities, and deſtitute of arms and forces, both by ſea and land; all theſe evils they had drawn upon themſelves by their cruelty, injuſtice and imprudence. The little power they had, they however exerted, choſe Hanno for their general, and put their land and naval forces upon the beſt footing they could; muſtered all who were capable of bearing arms, repairing their veſſels, and getting as many new mercenaries as they could. In the mean time, Mathos and Spendius, who commanded ſeventy thouſand men of the enemy, began their military operations, with the ſieges of Utica, and Hippacra, at one time, with great vigour, whilſt the main body remained at Tunis, and prevented the Carthaginians from keeping up a communication with the continent; which added much to their diſtreſs. Hanno marched to the relief of Utica, with a large train of battering rams, and one hundred elephants; and by the aſſiſtance of the former, forced the intrenchments of the the enemy, and got poſſeſſion of their camp. The great execution of the elephants, deſtroyed a vaſt number of the mercenaries, and this might have proved of great advantage, had his prudence been equal to his valour. But having got into the town, he thought himſelf ſecure; whilſt the enemy rallied,

came

came back, retook the camp, plundered it, and ſeized upon all the proviſions and military ſtores deſigned for the relief of the beſieged; whilſt Hanno indolently neglected the opportunity he had of cutting them entirely off.

The Carthaginians, ſenſible of the bad conduct of Hanno, appointed Hamilcar Barcas in his room; who marched againſt the enemy with the utmoſt force the Carthaginians could raiſe, ten thouſand horſe and foot, and ſeventy elephants. Mathos, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of the iſthmus, through the neglect of Hanno, guarded the bridge over the Bragada.

But Hamilcar obſerving, that upon the blowing of certain winds, that the river was ſo choaked up with ſands as to be paſſable, waited for this event, without informing any body of his intention; and when it arrived paſſed the river by night; neither his own forces, any more than the enemy, expecting ſuch an undertaking. He immediately drew up his troops, marched into the plain, where his elephants could be uſeful, and advanced towards Mathos, who lay at a village near the bridge.

This, as Hamilcar foreſaw, threw the enemy into confuſion; however Spendius immediately drew out ten thouſand men from the camp of Mathos, to watch Hamilcar on one ſide, and ordered fifteen thouſand men

from Utica, to do the ſame on the other ſide, thinking to ſurround and deſtroy the Carthaginians.

In the mean time, Hamilcar thus diſpoſed of his troops: the elephants he placed in the front, then the cavalry, laſtly, the light-armed infantry, ſupported by the targeteers, brought up the rear. The enemy approaching him with great reſolution, as if aſſured of victory, Hamilcar artfully changed, of a ſudden, his order of battle, and retired, as if afraid; which deceiving the enemy, they attacked him with great fury, but with leſs circumſpection; as thinking themſelves ſure of conqueſt.

Now Hamilcar faced about; and by the good behaviour of his horſe, ſoon put the enemy to flight, and who, in their confuſion, attacked a body of their own forces coming to their aſſiſtance, but whom they miſtook for Carthaginians, and great numbers were preſently ſlain, and the whole of them were entirely overthrown; ſix thouſand killed, and two thouſand taken priſoners, and the remainder forced to ſeek their ſafety by flight, ſome to the town, by the bridge; and others to Utica. Hamilcar cloſely purſued the fugitives, and got into the village already mentioned. The conſequence of this defeat, ſo terrified many of the revolted towns, that they returned to their obedience, and others Hamilcar forced to do ſo.

However,

However, Mathos continued the ſiege of Hippcara, got a reinforcement of Africans and Numidians, who, under the command of Spendius, reſolutely advanced towards Carthage. But in the mean time, a Numidian nobleman, named Navaraſus, came over from the enemy, with a party of Numidian horſe, to Hamilcar; which added much to his ſtrength, and enabled him to attack the enemy. The engagement was obſtinate and bloody; but at laſt ended in favour of the Carthaginians; the two generals of the mercenaries, Spendius and Autaritus, fled; four thouſand of their men were taken, and ten thouſand killed; as many of the latter, as choſe to do ſo, were admitted into the Carthaginian ſervice; and the reſt ſuffered to go away, upon a promiſe of not ſerving againſt the Carthaginians.

From this time, great cruelties were exerciſed by each party againſt the priſoners of each other. As to the Carthaginians, many unlucky accidents fell out to their diſfavour; but, at laſt, Hamilcar ſurpriſed the enemy, ſhut them up in a port, in ſuch a manner, that they could not get out: thus he kept them cloſely beſieged, remaining himſelf ſafe and at eaſe in his own camp, well provided with every thing, whilſt the enemy, not daring to riſk a battle, and unable to eſcape, began to fortify their camp; and to ſecure it with ditches, and intrenchments. They at

laſt were forced to eat one another, after having eat their priſoners and ſlaves, ſo great was the famine among them. Though they expected little mercy from the Carthaginians, their great diſtreſs forced them to ſend their three chief commanders, Spendius, Autaritus and Zarxas, to go and confer with Hamilcar for their deliverance.

Having obtained a ſafe conduct, they concluded a peace with Hamilcar, on theſe conditions: that ten of the ringleaders of the mercenaries ſhould be given up to the mercy of the Carthaginians; that their troops ſhould be diſarmed; every man retiring only in a ſingle coat. As ſoon as this treaty was agreed upon, Hamilcar ſeized upon the negociators themſelves, by virtue of the firſt article. The adverſe party gaining intelligence of the arreſt of their commanders, imagined it was treacherouſly done; and ſurely it was little leſs ſo; they therefore immediately flew to their arms; but Hamilcar having ſurrounded them, brought forward his elephants, and either trod them under foot, or cut them to pieces, to the amount of forty thouſand.

Hamilcar immediately inveſted Tunis, which had been the aſylum of the rebels, and their chief place of arms; where Mathos, with his remaining forces, was retired; Hannibal took up his quarters on the other ſide;

Hamilcar

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HANNIBAL

Hamilcar then advancing near the walls, and ordering croſſes to be ſet up, he hung Spendius on one of them, and his companions on the reſt; who all expired in exquiſite torment. Mathos, the commander of the city, ſaw all this; from whence he judged what he himſelf was to expect; which redoubled his vigour and attention. As he was careful to watch every opportunity, he obſerved that Hannibal did not keep ſo good a guard as he ought; this encouraged him to make a ſally, and attack his quarters; he killed a great many, plundered the camp, and made ſeveral priſoners, of which number Hannibal was one. He then took down the body of Spendius, which ſtill remained on the croſs, hung up Hannibal inſtead of it, and thirty Carthaginians of diſtinction, who all thus miſerably periſhed. Hamilcar being at a diſtance from his colleague, it was ſome time before he heard of this dreadful accident; indeed, had he known it ſooner, as the road between them was impaſſable, he could not have got ſoon enough to their aſſiſtance.

The Carthaginians, as ſoon as they got intelligence of this affair, ſent thirty ſenators, with Hanno at their head, to conſult with Hamilcar how to bring matters to a ſpeedy concluſion, urging, in the ſtrongeſt manner a reconciliation between Hamilcar and Hanno,

which was, with ſome difficulty effected. All the youth capable of bearing arms were compelled to ſerve. Things now became more favourable to the Carthaginians, and Mathos proved unfortunate, and at laſt determined to venture a battle. The engagement begun with great courage and reſolution on both ſides; but the rebels giving way, moſt of the Africans were ſlain, and the remainder ſurrendered, or were taken priſoners; among the latter, was Mathos; who was ſent to Carthage. All Africa ſubmitted to the Carthaginians, except Utica and Hippo; but Hamilcar ſoon reduced theſe; and thus ended this war. Mathos and his ſoldiers, after having adorned the public triumph of the conquering army, were put to a painful and ignominious death.

When the troubles of Africa were appeaſed, Hamilcar was ſent upon an expedition into Numidia; where he gave great proofs of his abilities and courage, which afterwards procured him the command of an army againſt Spain. Hannibal, (afterwards called the Great) though then but nine years old, earneſtly begged to attend his father, Hamilcar, on this occaſion, who took him with him, after having made him ſwear upon the altars, that he would declare himſelf an enemy to the Romans, as ſoon as he ſhould be of a ſufficient

cient age to do ſo †. Hamilcar commanded nine years in Spain, and in that time, conquered many warlike nations, and got immenſe ſpoils, which he, in the moſt politic manner, diſtributed, partly amongſt the troops, and partly amongſt the great men at Carthage, by which means he ſtrengthened his intereſt at home, as well as his influence over his men.

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† At the concluſion of the firſt Punic war, Lutatius, the Roman conſul, had behaved with great virulence to Hamilcar Barcas. He inſiſted, that the Carthaginian troops, under his command, ſhould deliver up their arms to the Romans, and even paſs under the *jugum*, or *yoke*; this was two forked ſticks ſtuck in the ground, and a ſpear laid a-croſs them. This inſpired the Carthaginian general with an irreconcilable hatred to the Romans. Nothing, indeed, could have been more inconſiſtent with true magnanimity and greatneſs of ſoul, than ſuch a conduct, and conſequently more diſagreeable to a perſon of heroic and generous ſentiments. Hamilcar, therefore, could not but naturally reſent an action ſo infamous in its nature, and look upon the people countenancing it, in a very indifferent light. Accordingly, C. Nepos tells us, that Hamilcar profeſſed, that he would rather die, than return home loaded with the ignominy, a compliance with ſuch a propoſal muſt fix upon him.

As to theſe wars, we have few particulars concerning them; we only are told a little of the laſt action, in which Hamilcar fell. A nation of Luſitania, called the Vettones, or Vectones, being enraged at the devaſtations committed in their country, prepared to give Hamilcar battle, aſſiſted by other petty nations, with their *Reguli* * at the head of them, who had been alſo plundered. They made uſe of the following ſtratagem: they ſent before them a vaſt number of waggons filled with faſcines, pitch, ſulphur, and other combuſtibles, drawn by oxen; their troops following under arms, in battle-array. This odd appearance, at firſt, excited the ridicule of the Carthaginians; but when the Spaniards came near Hamilcar, they ſet fire to theſe vehicles, driving the beaſts among the enemy, and forced them to quit their ranks. Then the Vettones and their allies attacked the Carthaginians with ſo much bravery, that they put them to flight, killed a great number; among whom was Hamilcar; thus glorioufly died this great general, fighting for the cauſe of his country.

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† Or petty kings, to whom the Romans gave the appellation of *Reguli*.

† Aſdrubal

† Aſdrubal, then admiral, was appointed to the command of the army, inſtead of his late father-in-law. He made a great progreſs in Spain, and governed it eight years; he built a city, called New Carthage, known now by the name of Carthagena; which afterwards became very conſiderable. He was publickly aſſaſſinated by a Gaul, in revenge for the death of his maſter, who had fallen by the hands of Aſdrubal. He had ſent for Hannibal three years before his death, then twenty-two years old, who ſoon became very popular, and ſucceeded Aſdrubal, after his death, in his command.

Hannibal the Great, conquered the Olcades, a nation ſeated near the Iberus, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of Althæa, their capital. The next year he beſieged and took Hermandica; he then advanced to Arbacala, a very populous and ſtrong city, which having a numerous garriſon, made a vigorous defence; but was taken at laſt. Some of thoſe who had eſcaped from Hermandica, and a party of the Olcades, induced the Carpetani, one of the moſt powerful nations in Spain, to declare war againſt the Carthaginians. They propoſed to attack Hannibal with an army of one hundred thouſand men,

† Polyb. l. 2. Year of the world 3776, of Rome 520.

on

on his return from the country of the Vaccæi, which he had conquered. But Hannibal, apprized of their intention, and conſidering the inferiority of his own army, determined to avoid coming to an engagement. He therefore encamped his forces upon the banks of the Tagus, and when the enemy were aſleep, ſilently paſſed the river, where it was fordable. As ſoon as the Spaniards were aware of his retreat, which they imputed to fear, they immediately purſued him in great diſorder; this was what Hannibal foreſaw, and hoped for, and accordingly prepared to attack them. He ordered his horſe to guard the ford on each ſide; that, on which he was himſelf, he defended by forty elephants poſted in the firſt line; and the infantry were drawn in battalia behind them.

The Spaniſh foot, who were got into the river, by this diſpoſition, were obliged to fight in the water with horſemen, and therefore could do very little; thoſe which got over the river were ſoon trampled to death by the elephants. Great numbers of them being, by this time deſtroyed, Hannibal repaſſed the river, and ſoon diſperſed the remainder; a great many of whom were drowned, or cut in pieces, inſomuch that the Tagus was dyed red with their blood. All the country of the Carpetani was laid waſte, and the inhabitants forced to ſubmit to the Carthaginians.

The

The remaining principal obſtruction to the power of Carthage, was the city of Saguntum *, which Hannibal now prepared to beſiege; the inhabitants of which implored the aſſiſtance of the Romans.

This, and other concurring cauſes, brought on the ſecond Punic war, twenty-three years after the concluſion of the laſt treaty made between the Carthaginians and the Romans, by the conſul Lutatius. † War was accordingly proclaimed by both parties; Hannibal being now about ſix, or ſeven, and twenty years old. Juſt before this rupture of the Romans with the Carthaginians, Hannibal had ſo cloſely beſieged the Saguntines, that, reduced to the laſt extremity, they ſued for a peace; but the conditions offered to them were too hard to be accepted; upon which the chief ſenators brought their own gold and ſilver, and that of the public treaſury, into the market

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* The Saguntines were a colony, partly of the Zacynthians, and partly of the Rutuli, from the city of Ardea. They ſoon grew immenſely rich: their city was ſituated on the Carthaginian ſide of the Iberus, within a mile of the ſea, near a ridge of mountains, that ſeparated Spain from Celtiberia.

† Polyb. l. iii. Year of the world 3787; of Carthage, 629, of Rome 531, and before Chriſt 217 years.

place,

place, caſt both into a large fire ready prepared, and laſtly themſelves. Juſt at this inſtant, a tower, which had been long aſſaulted by the battering rams, fell with a dreadful noiſe, and made a breach, at which the Carthaginians entered the city, and killed every perſon in it capable of bearing arms, and got a very great booty. This dreadful event filled the Romans with grief and conſternation; and they preſently declared war, as already ſaid, againſt the Carthaginians.

Hannibal, having put both Spain and Africa into a poſture of defence, prepared to invade Italy; he paſſed the Iberus with above one hundred thouſand men, twelve thouſand of which were horſe; he had alſo forty elephants. He ſubdued all the nations betwixt that river and the Pyrenes; he then led his army to the Rhone; but here he was oppoſed by the Volcæ, a nation near to that river; and the Gauls, on the other ſide, likewiſe attempted to diſpute the paſſage of the river with him; but he at laſt, by a ſtratagem, effected the paſſage, and diſperſed the Gaulic forces. Hannibal continuing his march, arrived at the foot of the Alps. Theſe mountains he paſſed with great difficulty, labour, and danger, not only from the badneſs of the way, but alſo from the oppoſition of the Gauls, from time to time. Livy ſays, that having heated the rock by a prodigious great fire, he cauſed a vaſt quantity of vinegar to be

be poured on the rock, which piercing into the veins of it, now cracked by the intenſe heat of the fire, calcined and ſoftened it. Be this as it may, he, ſome how or other, effected the paſſage, and got into a fruitful and well cultivated country, where the horſes were well provided with forage, and the men with all kinds of proviſions.

† The march over the Alps deſtroyed near half the army he had remaining when he began to aſcend them, having now no more than twelve thouſand Africans, eight thouſand Spaniſh foot, and above ſix thouſand horſe; in all but twenty-ſix thouſand, as appeared from an engraved pillar which Hannibal himſelf ordered to be ſet up near the promontory of Lacinium. He was five months and a half on his march from New Spain, including the fortnight ſpent in paſſing the

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† This route, according to Polybius, was as follows: from New Carthage to the river Iberus, two thouſand ſix hundred ſtadia; from the Iberus to Emporium, a ſmall maritime town, dividing Spain from the Gauls, one thouſand ſix hundred ſtadia; from thence to the banks of the Rhodanus, one thouſand ſix hundred ſtadia; from the Rhodanus to the Alps, one thouſand four hundred ſtadia; from the Alps to the plains of Inſubria, one thouſand two hundred ſtadia; in all about one thouſand Engliſh miles.

Alps,

Alps, to his reaching the fruitful plains of Inſubria*. Hannibal being thus arrived in Italy, and having refreſhed his troops, beſieged the city of Taurinum, the inhabitants of that country having refuſed to enter into an alliance with him; took that place in three days, and killed all who oppoſed him; this ſo terrified the Barbarians, that they all voluntarily ſurrendered to him; as would have done the reſt of the Gauls, had they not been reſtrained by their fear of the Romans.

The Romans being greatly alarmed at his progreſs, ordered Sempronius to march out of Sicily, to the aſſiſtance of his country; P. Scipio, the other conſul, haſtily advanced towards the invaders, croſſed the river Po, and encamped near the Ticinus†. Scipio, and Hannibal, both harangued their ſeparate armies in the ſtrongeſt terms; but that of the former, who were very ſuperſtitious, were not a little alarmed and diſpirited by theſe two omens: a wolf had ſtole into the camp of the Romans, and cruelly mangled ſome of the ſoldiers, without receiving the leaſt hurt from thoſe who attempted to kill it: the ſecond was, a ſwarm of bees that had ſettled upon a tree near the Prætorium, or

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* Polyb. l. iii. Livy, l. xxi.

† A ſmall river in Lombardy; now called Teſino.

general's

general's tent. Hannibal, on his part, greatly animated his men, with the promiſes of vaſt rewards, and cleaving, with a ſtone, the head of a lamb, he was ſacrificing, called upon Jupiter, to daſh to pieces his head in the ſame manner, in caſe he did not give his ſoldiers the rewards he had promiſed them.

Scipio advanced ſlowly, his firſt line compoſed of troops armed with miſſive weapons, and the Gauliſh horſe; in his ſecond line, were the beſt of the confederate cavalry. Hannibal marched with his whole cavalry; the troopers, who rid with bridles in the center, and the Numidian horſemen, who uſed neither bridle nor ſaddle, marched on the wings, in order to ſurround the enemy.

They ſoon came to an action: at the beginning of the battle, the light armed ſoldiers in Scipio's army diſcharged their darts in good order, but were ſoon frightened at the Carthaginian cavalry, which advanced briſkly upon them, and fearing, leſt they ſhould be trampled under the horſes feet, retired thro' the ſpaces of the ſquadrons. However, the fight continued dubious a conſiderable time; many horſemen on both ſides diſmounted, and the infantry and cavalry all engaged. The Numidians, as at firſt deſigned, ſurrounded the Romans, and charged their light armed troops, who had hitherto eſcaped the horſe, but who now, were ſoon trampled to death.

Thoſe

Thoſe of the Romans, who were in the center, fought with great bravery; many fell of both parties, but of the Carthaginians, the feweſt. The Numidians were very ſerviceable, and put the enemy's rear into great confuſion, which was increaſed by the conſul's being wounded, and diſabled from doing further ſervice; but he was bravely reſcued out of the enemy's hands by his own ſon, a youth only of ſeventeen years of age; honoured afterwards by the ſurname of Africanus, for having put an end to this war. Thus ended the battle, the conſul, though greatly hurt, retreated in good order, and was carried to his camp by a party of horſe, who covered him with their arms and bodies, followed by the remainder of the army. They made what haſte they could over the Po, and then deſtroyed the bridge, to prevent the Carthaginians from purſuing them. Thus Hannibal gained the battle of the Ticinus, as is imagined, chiefly by his cavalry. Now the neighbouring Gauls contended, who ſhould firſt ſubmit to the conqueror, or ſupply him with ammunition and men.

Next followed the battle of Trebia*; before which, Sempronius, the conſul, joined Scipio, with the forces under his command.

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* A little river in Lombardy, which falls into the Po, a little above Placentia.

Hannibal

Hanibal had advanced ſo near the Roman camp, that they were only parted by this little river. Frequent ſkirmiſhes happened, in one of which, Sempronius, at the head of ſome horſe, gained a ſmall advantage of the enemy. This he magnified to a victory, and adviſed Scipio to venture another battle; but he gave good reaſons againſt it, chooſing to wait till their new troops were better diſciplined.

In the mean time, Hannibal having been informed of the true diſpoſition of Sempronius, and his ſtrong inclination to a battle, reſolved to bring him to a general engagement. He placed two thouſand men, horſe and foot, in ambuſh; ſent early in the morning ſome Numidian horſe croſs the Trebia, up to the Roman camp, this drew the Romans upon them, they repaſſed the river, and the indiſcreet Sempronius, imagining their flight to be real, followed after them with his whole army. The river being ſwoln, with torrents that had fallen in the night from the mountains, the Roman infantry were forced to wade through it up to their arm-pits; it was now December; it was a ſnowy morning, and exceſſive cold, the Romans had been hurried out faſting, but the Carthaginians had, by Hannibal's orders, been plentifully fed, rubbed with oil, and their armour put on before a fire, and their horſes ready. Tho' the Romans fought valiantly, hunger, fatigue,

tigue, and cold overcame them, and they were forced to fly; ten thouſand of them bravely fought their way through the Gauls and Africans, and retreated to Placentia, being prevented from returning to their camp by the Numidian horſe, the river, and the rain. Of the remainder, many were trampled to death on the banks of the river by the elephants and horſes, except ſome, who got off with the others to Placentia.

Thus Hannibal obtained a very complete victory with little loſs, except that of a great many of his horſes, who were killed by the inclemency of the weather, and all the elephants but one. Scipio was forced alſo to retire into Placentia. Hannibal having, in the remaining part of the winter, refreſhed his troops, marched for Tuſcany, but in paſſing the Apennines *, he was overtaken by a dreadful ſtorm of rain, wind, and hail, in which his army ſeemed to ſuffer more than they had in the paſſage of the Alps, he therefore returned back to Placentia, where he again engaged Sempronius; when the loſs of both parties was nearly the ſame. Some time after, Hannibal hearing that a new conſul was come as far as to Arretium, a town of Tuſcany, he took the ſhorteſt road to meet

* Mountains in Italy, dividing it into two, almoſt equal, parts.

though

him, tho' almoſt impaſſable, by reaſon of a fen, which they were forced to go through; the army ſuffered greatly, marching four days and three nights leg deep in water; this journey coſt Hannibal the loſs of one of his eyes. However, he got through, and refreſhed his troops, and then marched, and pitched his tents between Arretium and Fæſulæ, the beſt part of Tuſcany. He ſoon learned the character of the new conſul, Flaminius, that he was conceited of his own merit, bold, raſh, and fond of glory.

In order, therefore, to provoke the conſul to a battle, Hannibal laid waſte and burnt the whole country, and kept advancing towards Rome; when obſerving that the conſul followed him to give him battle, he ſtopt, being come to where the lake Thraſymenus, and the mountains Cortona, form a very narrow defile, leading into a large valley, lined on each ſide with high hills, ſhut up at the outlet, by a ſteep hill, difficult to aſcend; on this hill he encamped. He poſted part of his light-armed infantry in an ambuſcade, and the reſt of his troops to the beſt advantage.

In the mean time the conſul advanced, and being got half way through the valley, Hannibal gave orders for the attack, and the troops to come out of their ambuſcade. This greatly ſurpriſed the Romans, who, not yet drawn up in order of battle, found themſelves attacked on all ſides; a general diſorder enſued;

ſued; Falminius, indeed, did his utmoſt to animate his ſoldiers to force themſelves a paſſage through the enemy, but the confuſion which reigned among the troops, and a fog that was riſen, hindered his being either ſeen, or heard; however, his men behaved, under all theſe diſadvantages, with the utmoſt bravery. And ſo great was the fury and eagerneſs of both parties, that not one of either army was ſenſible of a great earthquake that happened in that country, during the engagement, though it was ſo violent, as to overturn whole cities. Flaminius was ſlain, and, ſoon after, the Romans run away; a great many leaped into the lake, in hopes to ſave themſelves, and others climbing over the mountains, fell into the enemy's hands. Six thouſand, who had cut their way through the conquerors, were the next day taken priſoners; fifteen thouſand were killed, and only ten thouſand, by different roads, got ſafe to Rome. Hannibal, loſt only one thouſand five hundred men, moſtly Gauls. The battle being over, the Carthaginians marched into quarters of refreſhment. Whilſt Carthage rejoiced at the news of this great victory, an univerſal grief reigned at Rome.

I ſhall paſs over the leſs events, which occurred between the late battle, and that of Cannæ, as not being of conſequence enough to have a place here. In the winter following, Terentius Varro, and Æmilius Paulus

Paulus were choſen conſuls at Rome, and eight new legions were raiſed, of five thouſand foot each, and three hundred horſe, and the allies were ordered to furniſh the republic with a double number of horſe and foot. The two conſuls took the field early in the ſpring *. Hannibal's army at this time, conſiſted only of eighty-ſeven thouſand men, and being in great want of proviſions, he reſolved to leave Samnium, where he then was. He accordingly decamped by night, leaving fires burning, and tents ſtanding, which at firſt induced the Romans to think, that his retreat was only a feint. But as ſoon as they knew the certainty of it, they purſued him to Cannæ †, where Hannibal had halted.

Hannibal being diſtreſſed for proviſions, wanted to bring the Romans to an action, but Æmilius, ſenſible of his condition, declined an engagement, knowing that he would ſoon be obliged to decamp. But as the two conſuls commanded day by day, Æmilius, on his day, put up with the brava-

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* Year of the world 3789; of Rome 533; before Chriſt 221.

† Cannæ, was at this time an obſcure city, accordingly to Livy, and others, only a poor village; it ſtood on the banks of the Auſidus, in a vaſt plain, five miles from Canuſium, and ſix from the Adriatic Sea.

does of Hannibal, who did all he could to provoke him to a battle; but the command coming the next day to Terentius, he marched by day-break into the great plain, and drew his army up, after the uſual manner. The conſuls commanded the two wings, and the two proconſuls the main body. Hannibal, placed his Gauliſh and Spaniſh cavalry in his left wing, to face the Roman knights, and the Numidian horſe in his right, oppoſite the cavalry of the allies of Rome. With reſpect to the infantry, he formed the African battalions into two bodies, placed one near the right, and the other near the left wing, projecting a conſiderable way beyond the two wings. The left wing was commanded by Aſdrubal, and the right, by Maherbal, and the main body was commanded by Hannibal, and his brother Mago.

The light-armed infantry began the engagement, the Romans diſcharging their javelins and the Baleares their ſtones, with equal ſucceſs; but the conſul Æmilius was wounded. The right wing of the Romans advanced againſt the Gauls and Spaniards, in Hannibal's left wing; being ſhut up by a river on one ſide, and their infantry on the other, they could not fight in the manner they were accuſtomed to; that is, by charging and wheeling off, but were obliged to fight, man againſt man, till one or other was killed, or retreated. Having made ſome extraordinary

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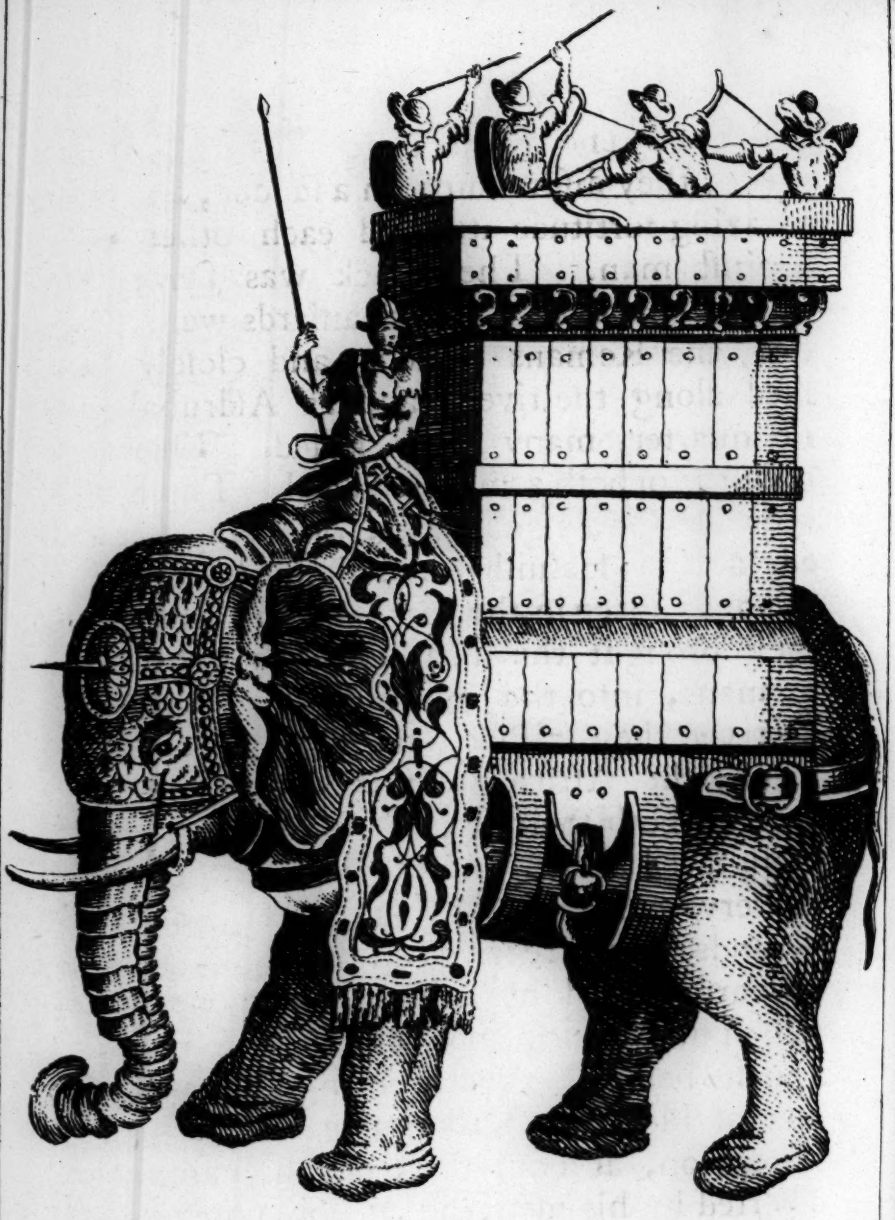

An Elephant of War.

traordinary endeavours to get the better of each other; they diſmounted on a ſudden, and with amazing fortitude attacked each other, man againſt man. The attack was fierce, but ſhort; the Gauls and Spaniards were ſuperior, the Romans routed, and cloſely purſued along the river; and as Aſdrubal gave no quarter, many were killed. Then the infantry of both armies engaged. The Spaniards and Gauls gave way, on being attacked, and, as Hannibal had directed, retired to the open ſpace in the rear: by this ſtratagem, they brought the incautious, though brave, Romans, into the midſt of the African infantry; they rallied and charged them in front; the Africans, at the ſame time, attacking both their flanks. However the Romans faced about, and fought with the utmoſt bravery. Æmilius, being covered with the wounds he had received in the fight, was afterwards killed by a body of the enemy, to whom he was not known: in this manner, a little before his death, being faint with the loſs of blood, and the hurry and fatigue of the action, at a diſtance from the camp, and deſerted by his men, he ſat down on a ſtone, where he was found by Lentulus, a tribune, who offered him his horſe; 'No,' replied the brave Æmilius, with a faint voice, 'I have lived long enough; dear Lentulus, fly, let me die; but give the ſenate timely notice of our miſfortunes, that they may guard and

fortify Rome; and tell Fabius, that I have followed the advice he gave me, to the very laſt.' Then Lentulus paſſed on, who was before, making his eſcape, and the unfortunate conſul, one of the braveſt Rome ever had, was ſoon after killed, as already related.

However, the main body of the Romans continued defending themſelves with great bravery for ſome time, and killed a great number of the enemy; but, diſheartened by the loſs of the two proconſuls, who headed them, they were at laſt overcome, diſperſed, and forced to fly as they could, in ſeparate parties. Hitherto no quarter had been given; but now, Hannibal cried out ſeveral times, *Stop, ſoldiers; ſpare the vanquiſhed.* Thoſe who had been left to guard the camp, ten thouſand, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. The conſul, Varro, retreated to Venuſia, with no more than ſeventy horſemen. At the beginning of the battle, Hannibal's army was greatly inferior in number to that of the Romans, and it ſeems, he owed his victory to his cavalry, of which he had more than the enemy; his loſs was four thouſand Gauls, one thouſand five hundred Spaniards and Africans, and two hundred horſe. Of the Romans, forty-five thouſand were killed in the field of battle, among whom were, one conſul, two proconſuls, two military quæſtors, twenty-nine legionary tribunes, and four-

four-ſcore ſenators, or magiſtrates, who had ſerved as volunteers. About ſeventeen thouſand of the right wing had eſcaped to the two camps, ten thouſand to the great camp, and ſeven thouſand to the little one; theſe afterwards got ſafe to Canuſium. The Carthaginians inveſted the two camps, in which only remained ſome wounded men, and ſome who were afraid to march with the others to Canuſium; theſe Hannibal ſuffered to march out without their arms. The Romans were to pay for their ranſom three hundred *denarii* an head, that is, nine pounds ſeven ſhillings and nine pence; their allies two hundred, and each ſlave one hundred; the whole of them were four thouſand men; till their ranſom was paid, Hannibal kept them under guards, divided into ſeparate bodies.

Maherbal, one of the Carthaginian generals, adviſed Hannibal to march directly to Rome, but he thought otherwiſe. Soon after, Hannibal diſpatched his brother Mago to Carthage, to declare the victory. Mago, in the midſt of his ſpeech to the ſenate, poured out amongſt them a buſhel of gold rings, which had been taken from the fingers of the Roman nobility, that had been killed at the battle of Cannæ; and concluded his ſpeech with aſking for money, proviſions, and freſh troops. Hanno, who had always oppoſed Hannibal, and his meaſures, to ſhow the mighty exploits that had been ſo much

boaſted of were entirely chimerical and imaginary, continued Mago's ſpeech in this manner: "I have cut to pieces the Roman armies; ſend me ſome troops.—What more, could you aſk, had you been conquered? I have twice ſeized the enemy's camp, full, no doubt, of proviſions of every kind.—Send me proviſions and money.—Could you have talked otherwiſe, had you loſt your camp?" However, orders were given for levying the ſupplies of men and money.

The immediate conſequence of this late victory, was the ſubjection of the moſt powerful nations of Italy, to Hannibal; Græcia Magna came into his intereſt, with the city of Tarentum. Thus the Romans loſt their moſt ancient allies; among whom, the Capuans held the firſt rank, in whoſe city, Hannibal took up his winter quarters. But his troops became ſo debauched, during their continuance here, that they were afterwards unable to bear former fatigues, and the rigour of their former diſcipline, and loſt much of their courage. The ſuccours deſigned for Hannibal fell greatly ſhort of thoſe he had been promiſed; nor did theſe reach him; for as Mago was about to march with them to him, he was countermanded, and ſent to Spain. Thus Hannibal was left to manage as he could, with an army reduced to twenty-ſix thouſand foot, and nine thouſand horſe.

From

From this time the affairs of Hannibal, and, with them, the proſperity of Carthage, declined. Marcellus, the conſul, who now commanded the Roman army, greatly harraſſed and diſtreſſed Hannibal, and at laſt beſieged Capua. Hannibal marched to its relief, and engaged the Romans ſeveral times, but not being able to make them raiſe the ſiege, he of a ſudden marched to Rome, in hopes of making a diverſion. Though they were ſurpriſed at this viſit, yet they thought themſelves capable of defending the city, and only recalled part of their army, and one general, from the ſiege of Capua. Hannibal ſeveral times drew up his army before the city, to give the conſuls battle, when a violent ſtorm as often prevented their coming to an engagement. Hannibal looking upon this as ſupernatural, ſaid, that ſometimes his own will, and ſometimes fortune, would not ſuffer him to take Rome. Whilſt he lay encamped before one of the gates, the Romans ſent out recruits for the army in Spain; and ſold the ground whereon his camp was pitched for its full value. Hannibal was ſeverely ſtung by this contempt ſhowed to him, and as a ſmall revenge, expoſed to ſale the ſhops of the goldſmiths round the Forum, and then retired. In his march, he plundered the rich temple of Feronia, the goddeſs of groves.

Capua held out but a little while after Hannibal marched againſt Rome. But before its ſurrender, a horrid ſcene took place *: Vilius Virius, having repreſented to the ſenate of Capua, the ſevere treatment which his country might expect from the Romans, prevailed with twenty-ſeven ſenators to go with him to his own houſe, where, after eating a plentiful dinner, and heating themſelves with wine, they all drank poiſon; then taking their laſt farewell, ſome withdrew to their own houſes, others ſtaid with Virius, and all expired before the gates were opened to the Romans. In the mean time, the Carthaginians had three armies in Spain, commanded by Aſdrubal, the ſon of Giſgo; the ſecond by Aſdrubal, the ſon of Hamilcar; and a third under Mago, who had joined the firſt Aſdrubal. Theſe three armies defeated and killed the two Scipio's who commanded the Romans.

But ſoon after, the younger Scipio was ſent thither, who greatly revenged the death of his father and uncle, and reſtored the affairs of the Romans in Spain. Afterwards Aſdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, had an engagement with the Romans upon the banks of the Metaurus, in which he was killed,

* Livy, l. xxvi.

but

but not till after his troops had fought with great courage, and he himſelf had ſhown the utmoſt valour. The battle laſted a long time, and was the moſt bloody the Carthaginians fought during this war. They loſt fifty-five thouſand men, beſides ſix thouſand taken priſoners; the Romans loſt eight thouſand; they were ſo weary of killing, that ſomebody telling Livius, one of the commanders, that he might eaſily deſtroy all the flying enemy, he anſwered: *It is fit, that ſome ſhould ſurvive, in order that they may carry the news of this defeat to the Carthaginians.*

Hannibal, greatly afflicted by this news, retired to the extremities of the country of the Brutians. As to young Scipio, he conquered all Spain, and on his return to Rome, was declared conſul, being then thirty years of age. He afterwards ſet out for the conqueſt of Africa,; the great ſucceſs he had the e, ſo terrified the Carthaginians, that they ſent thirty principal ſenators to him, to beg a peace; which they did in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms, proſtrating themſelves to the earth before him. Scipio conſented to grant a peace, upon very hard conditions; which, if they liked, he ſaid, they might ſend ambaſſadors to the ſenate. They ſeemingly accepted of them, that they might gain time till Hannibal ſhould be returned. A truce took place, and Hannibal was ſent for home; and he returned, with the utmoſt re-

gret at leaving Italy, and at not having marched to Rome, immediately after his victory at Cannæ. The ſenate at Rome, tired with the excuſes of the Carthaginian deputies, in juſtification of this republic, referred the whole affair to Scipio. In the mean time, a Roman fleet being diſperſed by a ſtorm near Carthage, a fleet was ſent from thence, which ſeized upon the greateſt part of them, notwithſtanding the truce ſtill ſubſiſted between the two powers.

And further, the Carthaginians, whoſe courage revived on the return of Hannibal, and who were always falſe, ſent out two galleys, to ſeize upon the galley that was coming to them with the Roman ambaſſadors, they, however, with ſome difficulty, eſcaped. This renewed the war with more animoſity than before.

Hannibal, at the ſtrong deſire of the citizens, advanced forward into the country, and arriving at Zama, five days march from Carthage, he there pitched his tent. From thence, ſending out ſpies to reconnoitre the army of Scipio, they were taken; but Scipio, far from puniſhing them, commanded them to be led throughout his camp, that they might take a full ſurvey of it, and ſent them back. As to Hannibal, diſpirited by his ill-ſucceſſes, he deſpaired of effecting any thing conſiderable; but thought he might attain a peace, whilſt at the head of an army, better than

than otherwiſe; he therefore deſired an interview with Scipio.

Accordingly theſe two generals met, but Hannibal could by no means conſent to a peace upon the conditions propoſed by Scipio. They therefore parted, and each returned to his camp, to prepare for a general battle. Scipio, early the next morning, marched out his troops into the plain, and ſent a detachment to ſeize an eminence between the two camps. Hannibal had alſo ſent out a party upon the ſame errand, who met with the former, and were repulſed, and the eminence was gained by the Roman detachment.

This brought on the battle of Zama *, memorable on account of the generals, the armies, the two ſtates that contended, and the importance of the victory; the diſpoſition of the armies, the chooſing of their ground, and their courage and reſolution in charging the enemy, ſhowed the uncommon ſkill and great abilities of both generals. Each, truly, repreſented to their men, that this battle muſt decide, whether Rome, or Carthage ſhould give law to the world. Perhaps never victory was more obſtinately, or couragiouſly, diſputed. Three times the Roman legions were repulſed, with a great ſlaughter, by the

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* Year of the world 3803; of Rome 547. Polyb. l. xv.

Carthaginians, chiefly by thoſe in the ſecond line; but the mercenaries in the firſt line, were quickly routed, which in the end, drew on the defeat of the ſecond; for giving way to the Romans, who puſhed them with their bucklers, they fell back upon the ſecond line, put them into confuſion, obliged them to give way, and at laſt to fly.

In the phalanx, in which Hannibal himſelf commanded, were placed thoſe veterans, whoſe valour the Romans had before ſeverely experienced in the plains of Italy. Againſt this formidable body, Scipio himſelf advanced, but the ground they had to paſs, to come at it, was ſo promiſcuouſly covered with dead bodies, bucklers, and darts, and ſo ſoaked and ſlippery with blood, that the men could ſcarcely keep upon their feet. Scipio, having drawn up all his men in one great front, marched againſt Hannibal, who waited for the enemy at the head of his Phalanx, who attacked him with great fury, but the Carthaginians, animated by the preſence of their commander, kept their ground notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of all the Roman infantry. And Scipio, though he manifeſted the greateſt ſkill and bravery, reſolved to die or conquer, could not, after many eſſays, break into this impenetrable body. Not a ſingle Carthaginian quitted his poſt, but ſtood round their general, like deep rooted trees in a forreſt, unintimidated by the

aſſaults

aſſaults of their enemies, and unmoved at the heaps of the dead bodies that covered the ground.

But at laſt, Lælius and Maſiniſſa, returning from the purſuit of the Carthaginian and Numidian cavalry, attacked the Phalanx in the rear. This was a force too great to be long withſtood; the Phalanx was thrown into diſorder, and moſt of this brave body were ſlaughtered, very few eſcaping; and Hannibal, after having given many and great proofs of his valour, was alſo obliged to fly.

As the taking of ſo great a general would have been no little honour, Maſiniſſa, though wounded himſelf, cloſely purſued Hannibal, but by the covert of the night, he, with only twenty horſemen, got ſafe to a neighbouring city, called Thon; from thence he ſet out for Adrumetum, which he reached in two days and two nights. The loſs of the Romans in this battle, was little more than two thouſand; but that of the Carthaginians was above twenty thouſand, beſides as many taken priſoners. As ſoon as Hannibal was called from Adrumetum, and was got to Carthage, he told the ſenate, they had no reſource but in a peace

In the mean time, Scipio ordered his land army to march to Carthage, whilſt he prepared to ſail the fleet thither. He was not far from the city, when a veſſel appeared, covered with ſtreamers, and olive branches; bringing

bringing ten of the chief perſons of Carthage, as ambaſſadors, to implore his clemency: theſe he ordered to meet him at Tunis. At the appointed place, thirty deputies from Carthage waited upon him, and in the humbleſt terms aſked for peace. The majority of a council, which Scipio called upon this occaſion, were for razing the city of Carthage, and treating the inhabitants with the utmoſt ſeverity. But Scipio prudently conſidering the time neceſſary for taking a city ſo ſtrongly fortified, and fearing, leſt a ſucceſſor might be appointed to him, whilſt he ſhould be engaged in the ſiege, and he thereby loſe the honour of making the peace; theſe conſiderations determined him to grant a peace, upon conditions of his own dictating, as follows:

"That the Carthaginians ſhould retain their freedom, laws, territories, and the cities they poſſeſſed in Africa before the war.—That they ſhould ſurrender to the Romans all deſerters, ſlaves and captives belonging to them—all their ſhips, except ten triremes; all their tame elephants; and that they ſhould not train up any more for war.—That they ſhould not make war out of Africa, nor even in that country, without firſt obtaining leave for that purpoſe from the Roman people,—ſhould reſtore to Maſiniſſa, all they had diſpoſſeſſed him, or his anceſtors, of,—ſhould furniſh money and corn to the Roman auxiliaries,

aries, till their ambaſſadors ſhould return from Rome,—ſhould pay to the Romans, ten thouſand Euboic talents of ſilver, in fifty annual payments *; and give an hundred hoſtages who ſhould be nominated by Scipio. And in order that they might have time to ſend to Rome, it was agreed to grant them a truce, upon condition they ſhould reſtore the ſhips taken during the former truce, without which, they were not to expect either a truce, or a peace."

The peace was ſoon after concluded on theſe terms, and the Carthaginians delivered up to Scipio, above five hundred ſhips, which he burnt in ſight of Carthage; they likewiſe gave up all their elephants into the hands of the Romans, who ſtruck off the heads of the Latin deſerters, and hanged all the citizens who were given up, as deſerters; thus ended the ſecond Punic war, after ſeventeen years continuance †. Scipio ſoon after returned to Rome, and was honoured with the moſt magnificent triumph Rome had ever ſeen, and received the ſurname of Africanus, an honour, till then, unknown;

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* That is, about thirty-five thouſand pounds a year.

† Year of the world 3804, of Carthage 646, of Rome 548, before Chriſt 200.

no perſon before him having aſſumed the name of a vanquiſhed nation.

As the affairs of the Carthaginians, from the concluſion of the ſecond, to the commencement of the third Punic war, are not of a nature to have a place in this work, I ſhall paſs them over, to come immediately to the third Punic war, which though by no means comparable to the two former, either for the greatneſs, or number, of its battles, or the time of its continuance, which was only four years; yet was it far more conſiderable, as to the event of it, as it terminated in the entire overthrow of Carthage.

Some diſputes the Carthaginians had with Maſiniſſa, king of Numidia, who appealed to the ſenate at Rome, againſt the Carthaginians, partly contributed to bring on this new war; but what ſeems principally to have haſtened it, was, the jealouſy of the Romans, at being informed that the wealth and power of Carthage was greatly revived, beyond what they could have expected. It ſeems, the Carthaginians being continually harraſſed by the invaſions of Maſiniſſa, and tired with the injuſtice and partiality of the Roman republic, entered into an alliance with Archobazanes, king of another part of Numidia, engaging him to march with an army to the frontiers of Maſiniſſa's dominions. This was conſidered at Rome as a breach of the articles

cles of the peace, by which, the Carthaginians were not to make war, without firſt obtaining leave for that purpoſe, from the Roman republic. Cato, who hated Carthage, took this opportunity to urge the ſenate of Rome immediately to declare war againſt the Carthaginians; but Scipio Naſica adviſed the ſenate not to do ſo, till they had firſt ſent an embaſſy to Carthage, to inquire calmly into the affair. He himſelf was accordingly ſent, and behaved with great prudence, and the matter was upon the point of being amicably ſettled; when a Carthaginian, named Giſco, a popular man, but of a ſeditious diſpoſition, ſo inflamed the populace, that they would have offered violence to Naſica, if he had not ſaved himſelf by flight. This greatly incenſed the Romans, and Cato was much pleaſed to find that Naſica now agreed with him, that Carthage deſerved to be deſtroyed. However, the ſenate deferred their reſentment for ſome time, on occonnt of a war with the Spaniards; who had revolted. In the mean time, a war broke out with the Carthaginians and Maſiniſſa; in the courſe of which, the former were defeated, and greatly diſtreſſed by Maſiniſſa, and many of them treacherouſly maſſacred by Guluſſa, the ſon of Maſiniſſa.

Soon after, the Romans declared war againſt the Carthaginians, and at the ſame time Utica voluntarily ſurrendered itſelf to the

the Roman republic; this, together with the great warlike preparations that were making at Rome, ſo terrified the Carthaginians, that they ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, to make an abſolute ſurrender of themſelves and their dominions to the Romans. The ambaſſadors ſent to Rome for this purpoſe, were ſeemingly well received by the ſenate, who told them, that as they had done all that could be required of them, they ſhould enjoy every thing they had, as before, upon condition they ſent three hundred hoſtages to the conſuls, who were now in Sicily, and did what they ſhould direct. The conſuls having received the hoſtages, ſent them to Italy, immediately ſailed for Utica, and landed ſeventy-four thouſand men there; and Manlius, one of the conſuls, took poſſeſſion of the ſame ſpot, where the great Scipio had encamped, when he inveſted Carthage. The ſight of this great army, and ſo near them, terribly alarmed the Carthaginians; they therefore ſent deputies to expoſtulate with the conſuls, and to inquire into the meaning of this ſtrange, and unexpected, event, after they had made ſuch a ſubmiſſion as related, and had ſent the hoſtages required.

Marcius, one of the conſuls, told them, they muſt deliver up all their arms; with this demand they were forced to comply; for Carthage had not proviſions ſufficient for a ſiege, auxiliaries nor mercenaries; the flower of their

their youth had been cut off, in a late battle with Maſiniſſa; her fleet was not ready, and that of the Romans, which was ſuperior, then barred up her harbour; they therefore, faithfully, for once, gave up all their arms and engines of war, a prodigious quantity. This done, Marcius thus addreſſed the Carthaginians: "We are well pleaſed with theſe firſt inſtances of your obedience, and therefore cannot help congratulating you upon them. I have now but one thing more to require of you, in the name of the Roman people. I will therefore, without further preamble, plainly declare to you an order, on which the ſafety of your republic, the preſervation of your goods, your lives, and liberties depend: Rome requires that you abandon your city, which we are commanded to level with the ground. You may build yourſelves another where you pleaſe, provided it be ten miles from the ſea, and without walls, or fortifications. A little courage and reſolution will get the better of the affection which attaches us to old habitations, and is founded more in habit than in reaſon."

The conſternation of the Carthaginian deputies, at hearing this horrid, treacherous, ſpeech, is not to be expreſſed; ſome ſwooned away, others burſt forth into cries and lamentations, nor were even the Roman ſoldiers, who were preſent, unmoved at ſo affecting

fecting a ſcene. "Theſe ſudden fits," ſaid the baſe inhuman conſuls, "wear off by degrees; time and neceſſity teach the moſt unfortunate to bear their calamities with patience. The Carthaginians, when they recover their ſenſes, will chooſe to obey."

The two ambaſſadors who received this horrid decree, were unable, by any thing they could ſay, to get it mitigated, and accordingly returned to Carthage, having firſt called upon the Gods, whoſe eyes are ever open to fraud and treachery. Sorrow, deſpair, and madneſs reigned throughout the city. However, they had at laſt the prudence to ſhut the gates of the city, and gathered together a great heap of ſtones on the ramparts, to ſupply the want of arms, in caſe of a ſudden attack. Defenceleſs as they were they yet determined to provide, as they could, againſt a ſiege. They incorporated their malefactors, and ſlaves in their militia; they reverſed the ſentence of death againſt Aſdrubal, and engaged him to defend the city with the twenty thouſand men he had himſelf raiſed. Another general of the ſame name, commanded within the city. The ſenate, temples, porticoes, and other public buildings, were converted into work-houſes, where men and women were continually employed in making arms. They were ſo expeditious, that they daily made an hundred and forty-four bucklers, three hundred ſwords, a thouſand darts, and five hundred lances and javelins. The want

want of braſs and iron, they ſupplied by uſing gold and ſilver, melting down the ſtatues, vaſes, and even the utenſils of private families. The women, of all ranks, cut off their hair, to ſupply the want of tow and flax to make cords for working the machines. By the means of Aſdrubal's army without the city, they were plentifully ſupplied with proviſions: they continued theſe preparations for ſome time, uninterrupted by the Romans, who knowing their defenceleſs ſtate, and imagining they were deſtitute of proviſions, were in no hurry to approach the city. But at laſt, finding their miſtake, they inveſted the city; and ſtill ignorant, that the Carthaginians had any arms, they approached the walls, and planted their ſcaling ladders; but were ſoon ſurpriſed at the appearance of a prodigious number of men, who appeared on the ramparts, ſhining in their new and rich armour. The legionaries, terrified at this unexpected ſight, would have retired, if the conſuls had not forced them to the attack; but at laſt, were obliged to quit their deſign of taking the city by aſſault. And the Romans were ſoon diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, for Aſdrubal's camp being near them, and his cavalry ſuperior to that of the Romans, they did not dare to go out of their camp to forrage.

Part of the Roman army under Marcius, being encamped near a marſh, grew ſickly, and were obliged to change the ſituation, but

ſtill

ſtill within the reach of Carthage. Aſdrubal, who commanded in the city, found a means of ſetting fire to the Roman ſhips, and moſt of them were deſtroyed. Marcius was ſoon after called home, and Manilius ordered to continue the war. Aſdrubal, who was poſted under the walls of Nepheris, a city about twenty-four miles from Carthage, on a high mountain almoſt inacceſſible, made incurſions into the country, intercepted the Roman convoys, fell upon their detachments ſent out to forrage and even inſulted them in their camp. This provoked the conſul to march and give him battle; but as he approached the hills, Aſdrubal ſuddenly fell upon the Romans and obliged them to retire, and then falling upon their rear, killed a great many of them, and indeed the whole Roman army had like to have been cut off, but were ſaved by the bravery and good conduct of Scipio Æmilius, the tribune. He afterwards took ſeveral caſtles, and gained over Phameas, an able commander, and who was general of the Carthaginian cavalry,

Æmilianus, who had been called home, and elected conſul, returned again into Africa, accompanied by Polybius the hiſtorian, and Lælius, his lieutenant general, with a fleet commanded by the prætor Serranus. He arrived time enough to reſcue a body of three thouſand five hundred Romans, who were ſurrounded by the Carthaginians, and in danger

of

of being cut to pieces. He then took Megalia by aſſault, and the Carthaginian garriſon retired into the citadel called Byrſa. Aſdrubal, who had commanded the forces of the Carthaginians in the field, but now governor of the city, barbarouſly cut off the hands and feet, and tore out the eyes and tongues, of the Roman priſoners, and then caſt them down from the ramparts, in the ſight of the Roman army.

As the conſul determined to take the city, he drew lines of circumvallation, and contravallation, croſs the neck of land which joined the iſthmus, whereon Carthage ſtood, to the continent. Thus was the city prevented from receiving proviſions by land. He then, with immenſe labour, raiſed up a mole, which reached from the weſtern neck of land, of which the Romans were in poſſeſſion, to the entrance of the old port of Carthage, and which was ninety feet broad at the bottom, and eighty at the top. The Carthaginians rather derided than feared this ſtrange attempt; but when they at laſt ſaw a great mole appear above water, which continued the main land, a great way into the ſea, and the port rendered inacceſſible by ſhips, they were greatly amazed; as to their new port, that was already ſhut up by the Roman fleet. However, the Carthaginians, ſo far from deſpairing, had recourſe to an expedient

dient ſcarcely to be credited: they, with perhaps unparallelled labour and induſtry, as if determined to rival the Romans in the extraordinarineſs of their laſt attempt, in a very ſhort time dug a new baſon, and cut a paſſage into the ſea, which enabled them again to receive proviſions from their troops in the field. They alſo, with no leſs induſtry and diſpatch, built and fitted out fifty triremes, which, to the aſtoniſhment of the Romans, appeared ſuddenly, as if by inchantment, iſſuing into the ſea through this new canal, and even attacked the enemy. They fought the whole day, much to the honour of both parties, but with little advantage to either.

The conſul, the next day, attempting to get poſſeſſion of a terrace, which covered the city on the ſide next the ſea, the beſieged gave a moſt ſignal proof of their valour; for a great many of them, naked, and unarmed, went into the water, in the dead time of the night, with unlighted torches in their hands, and having partly by ſwimming, partly by wading, got within reach of the Roman engines, they ſtruck fire, lighted their torches, and violently toſſed them againſt the machines. The Romans who guarded them, were ſo terrified at the ſudden appearance of theſe naked men, like ſo many monſters ariſing out of the ſea, that they retired in the utmoſt confuſion. The Carthaginians, taking advantage of this

confuſion,

confuſion, threw themſelves upon them like ſo many wild beaſts, and put them to flight, with their torches only; and then, ſetting fire to the machines, entirely deſtroyed them. However, a few days after, the conſul took the terrace by aſſault, and poſted four thouſand men upon it. As this ſhut up Carthage on the ſea-ſide, Æmilianus fortified it againſt the aſſaults of the enemy, and made no further attacks during the bad weather. As the Carthaginians had a ſtrong and numerous camp near Nephorus, from whence they were ſupplied with proviſions, Æmilianus determined to take this city. He accordingly forced the enemy's entrenchments, killed ſeventy thouſand, and took ten thouſand priſoners; the camp being filled with ſuch as could not retire to Carthage. He afterwards took the city of Nepheris, but not under a ſiege of twenty-two days.

Aſdrubal ſeeing his army was defeated, and touched with the miſeries of the beſieged, reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions, offered, upon behalf of the citizens, to ſurrender upon ſuch conditions as the Romans ſhould pleaſe to appoint, provided they would not deſtroy the city. But Scipio Æmilianus poſitively refuſed to abate any part of the inſtructions he had received, as to the deſtruction of Carthage; upon which Aſdrubal haughtily replied, *No, no, the ſun ſhall never ſee Carthage deſtroyed, and Aſdrubal*

alive. We ſhall ſoon ſee how his actions agreed with his words.

In the beginning of the ſpring Scipio attacked, at one and the ſame time, of the harbour called Cothon, and the citadel, called Byrſa. Having poſſeſſed himſelf of the wall which ſurrounded this fort, he threw himſelf into the great ſquare of the city that was near it, from whence was an aſcent to the citadel, up three ſtreets, with houſes on each ſide, from the tops of which the inhabitants ſhowered down a great number of darts upon the Romans, who, unable to advance, were obliged to take poſſeſſion of the houſes, and to turn the inhabitants out of them. This attack from every other part of the houſes, as well as from the tops, laſted nine days, and a great many Romans were killed. The ſtreets were ſo filled with the dead bodies of the inhabitants who had been ſlain, or thrown out from their houſes, that the Romans were obliged to drag them aſide with hooks, and throw them into pits, and many of them before they were dead. During theſe dreadful tranſactions, which continued ſix days, and as many nights, the ſoldiers were relieved from time to time, but Scipio did not take any reſt during the whole time, but was continually giving his orders. As faſt as the houſes were cleared on both ſides the ſtreets, the Romans advanced, in order of battle, towards the citadel, though vigorouſly. re-

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ſiſted. A great and dreadful ſlaughter took place, and nothing but ſhrieks and lamentations, and the din of arms, were heard. At laſt, the proconſul ſet that part of the town, next the citadel, on fire, when numbers, who had eſcaped the former calamities, periſhed in the flames, or were buried alive under the falling houſes. This fire, which laſted ſix days, deſtroyed ſuch a number of houſes, that, the rubbiſh being removed, there was a ſpace large enough for the troops to act in, and the whole army drew up before the citadel.

It ſeemed probable, however, that the ſiege would laſt much longer, and more blood yet would be ſpent; when, on the ſeventh day, twenty-five thouſand women, and thirty thouſand men, appeared in a ſuppliant poſture and habit, who only aſked for the Romans to ſpare their lives, and thoſe in the citadel, this was granted to all, except the deſerters, who were in all about nine hundred. The wife of Aſdrubal earneſtly deſired him to give her leave to go out of the city with her two young ſons, to accept of the clemency of the Romans; this he obſtinately and brutiſhly refuſed. But committed her and her children to the care of the deſerters, who, finding they would not be allowed quarter, fortified themſelves in the temple of Æſculapius, reſolved to die ſword in hand. In this place, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of their number, they

might have held out a long time, as the temple was built upon a very high hill, to which the aſcent was by ſixty ſteps; but being wearied out, and oppreſſed with hunger, watching, fear, and the proſpect of immediate deſtruction, they at laſt retreated from the lower part of the temple to the uppermoſt, determined to be removed thence only by death.

As to Aſdrubal, who had lately made ſuch a boaſting ſpeech to Scipio, he now ſeemed ſo cowardly as to fear for himſelf only, and to think how he might ſave himſelf; to this end, carrying an olive-branch in his hand, he went out of the citadel, privately and alone, and meanly caſting himſelf at the conſul's feet, begged his life. As ſoon as the Carthaginians heard of this, they threw open the gates of the citadel, and admitted the proconſul to enter it. The nine nundred deſerters, in the temple, were now attacked; when, theſe unfortunate men, deemed to deſtruction, ſet fire to the temple, and, to avoid the flames as long as they could, got on the roof of it. Whilſt the fire was burning, the wife of Aſdrubal having dreſſed herſelf as ſplendidly as poſſible, and getting on the roof of the temple with her two children, and ſeeing her huſband ſtanding by Scipio, addreſſed the latter in this manner. "I call not down curſes on thy head, O Roman, for thou only takeſt the privileges allowed by the laws of war. But, may the Gods of Carthage, and thou

thou in concert with them, puniſh, according to his deſerts, the falſe wretch, who has betrayed his country, his gods, his wife, his children!" Then, addreſſing herſelf to Aſdrubal, "Baſe coward," ſaid ſhe, "the mean things thou haſt done to ſave thy life, ſhall not avail thee; thou ſhalt die this inſtant, at leaſt in thy children." Having pronounced theſe words, ſhe drew out a dagger, ſtabbed both her children; and, whilſt they yet ſtruggled for life, threw them into the flames, and then leaped down herſelf after them: in this ſtrange kind of mad heroiſm ſhe was immediately followed by all the deſerters. The city was now given up to be plundered.

Whilſt horror, diſtreſs, lamentation, and devouring flames reigned all around, even Scipio, though inured to blood and ſlaughter, wept, and indulged a penſive ſilence, which he at laſt broke, with repeating thoſe two verſes out of Homer, wherein the deſtruction of Troy was foretold:

The day ſhall come, that great avenging day,
Which Troy's proud glories in the duſt ſhall lay;
When Priam's tow'rs, and Priam's ſelf ſhall fall.
And one prodigious ruin ſwallow all *.

POPE.

* Il. δ' 164, 165.

As Scipio ſighed in repeating theſe lines, Polybius aſked him, what he meant by Troy, and the people of Priam? He, without naming Rome, gave him to underſtand, that he feared his own country would meet with the ſame fate as Troy and Carthage. The greateſt ſtates, ſaid he, have their periods; after which fortune overturns what ſhe took pleaſure in raiſing.

The deſtruction of Carthage happened about one hundred forty-ſix years before Chriſt.* The treaſure removed from this city, even after it had been plundered by the ſoldiers, according to the Roman military law†, was, according to Pliny, four millions, four hundred and twenty thouſand pounds weight of ſilver, beſides ſeveral valuable libraries which were preſerved from the flames, and which Scipio preſented to the two ſons of Micipſa.

Scipio having ſent news to Rome of the taking of this city, received orders entirely to demoliſh Carthage, Byrſa, and Megalia. In conſequence of this order, religious ceremonies, uſual on theſe occaſions, being perform-

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* Year of the world, 3859; of Carthage, 701; of Rome, 693.

† By which they were allowed to appropriate to themſelves, all the furniture, utenſils, and braſs money they could find in private houſes.

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ed, a plough was drawn round the walls of the city, then the towers, ramparts, walls, and all the works which had been raiſed in the courſe of many ages, and at an immenſe expence, were levelled to the ground. And, to complete its deſtruction, all the public edifices and houſes were ſet on fire, and not a ſingle houſe eſcaped the fury of the flames, but the whole was totally and entirely conſumed. Then Scipio returned to Rome, and Aſdrubal, and Bytheas the general of the Carthaginian horſe, after having been led in chains before the triumphant victor's chariot, were permitted to enjoy life and liberty, at the requeſt of Scipio, who was now honoured with the ſurname of Africanus the Second. But Appian ſays, Aſdrubal killed himſelf, to avoid the ignominy of being carried in triumph. As to the remainder of the priſoners, ſome were ſold, and others periſhed in priſons.

About twenty years afterwards, C. Gracchus, tribune of the people, in order to ingratiate himſelf with them, conducted thither a colony * of ſix thouſand Roman citizens, who begun to lay the foundations of the new city; but, being terrified, as Plutarch ſays, by ſeveral bad omens, they would have de-

* This was the firſt Roman colony that was ſent out of Italy.

ſiſted. But the tribune not being over-ſuperſtitious himſelf, continued the work, which, in fact, appears from ſome circumſtances in hiſtory, to have been no more than the erecting of a few miſerable huts. Appian ſays, J. Cæſar rebuilt Carthage; and Strabo ſays, it was a very conſiderable city in the reign of Tiberius, in whoſe time he himſelf lived; and Pliny mentions it as a very conſiderable colony in his time, and we are further told, by Solinus, that the town built by Gracchus was called Iunonia, and in time became the ſecond city in the Roman dominions. For ſeveral centuries after Chriſt, it was conſidered as the capital of Africa. About the ſixth, or ſeventh year after, Conſtantine Maxentius reduced it to aſhes. Four hundred and thirty-nine years after Chriſt, it was taken by Genſeric, king of the Vandals: about a hundred years afterwards, it was once more united to the Roman empire, by the famous general Beliſarius. The Saracens, at the end of the ſeventh century, ſo entirely finiſhed the deſtruction of it, that, according to a learned and curious modern traveller *, there now remains only theſe few footſteps of it: the area of a ſpacious room upon one of thoſe three hills, on which the city was built, overlooking the

* Shaw.

ſouth-eaſt

ſouth-eaſt ſhore, with ſeveral ſmaller ones at a little diſtance from it. The common ſewers, which time hath not in the leaſt injured or impaired; and the ciſterns, which have ſuffered very little in the general ruins of the city. The harbour is now ſtopped up, and, by the north-eaſt winds, with the river Majerdah, made almoſt as diſtant from the ſea as Utica, though it is ſtill called El-merſa, or the dort; lying to the north and north-weſt of the city, and forms, with the lake of Tunis, the peninſula on which Carthage ſtood.

As in the courſe of the wars of the Carthaginians now related, the reader may have been at a loſs to underſtand ſome particular paſſages, from not knowing the nature of the cuſtoms and government, &c. of the Carthaginians, which could not conveniently be explained in the body of the hiſtory, I ſhall therefore conclude this chapter with an account of them.

The government of Carthage, like that of Sparta and Rome, united three different authorities, which counterpoiſed and gave mutual aſſiſtance to one another. Theſe authorities, that of the two ſupreme magiſtrates called ſuffetes*; that of the ſenate; and that of the people. There afterwards were added the tribunal of one hundred, which had great credit and influence in the republic.

* Or judges.

The power of the ſuffetes was only annual, and their authority in Carthage anſwered to that of the conſuls at Rome. In authors they are frequently called kings, dictators, conſuls, becauſe they exerciſed the functions of all three. Hiſtory does not inform us of the manner of their election. They were empowered to aſſemble the ſenate, in which they preſided, propoſed ſubjects for deliberation, and told the voices; and they likewiſe preſided in all emergent and deciſive debates. Their authority was not limited to the city, nor confined to civil affairs: they ſometimes had the command of the armies. We find, that when their employment of ſuffetes expired, they were made prætors, whoſe office was conſiderable, ſince it empowered them to preſide in ſome cauſes; as alſo to propoſe and enact new laws, and call to account the receivers of the public revenues.

The ſenate, compoſed of perſons who were venerable on account of their age, their experience, their birth, their riches, and eſpecially their merit, formed the council of ſtate.

In the ſenate, all affairs of conſequence were debated, the letters from generals read, the complaints from provinces heard, ambaſſadors admitted to an audience, and peace or war determined, as is ſeen on many occaſions.

When the ſentiments and votes were unanimous, the ſenate decided ſupremely, and there

there lay no appeal from it. When there was a diviſion, and the ſenate could not be brought to an agreement, the affair was then brought before the people, on whom the power of deciding thereby devolved. But things changed afterwards. For the people grown inſolent by their wealth and conqueſts, and forgetting that they owed theſe bleſſings to the prudent conduct of the ſenate, were deſirous of having a ſhare in the government, and arrogated to themſelves almoſt the whole power. From that period, the public affairs were tranſacted wholly by cabals and factions; which Polybius aſſigns as one of the chief cauſes of the ruin of Carthage.

The tribunal of the hundred, was a body compoſed of an hundred and four perſons; though often, for brevity ſake, they are called the Hundred. Theſe, according to Ariſtotle, were the ſame in Carthage, as the Ephori in Sparta: whence it appears, that they were inſtituted to ballance the power of the nobles and ſenate: but with this difference, that the Ephori were but five in number, and elected annually; whereas theſe were perpetual, and were upwards of an hundred. It was intended as a curb to the authority of their generals, which, whilſt the armies were in the field, was almoſt boundleſs and abſolute; but, by this inſtitution, it became ſubject to the laws, by the obligations their generals were under, of giving an account of their actions before

theſe

theſe judges, on their return from the campaign. Of theſe one hundred and four judges, five had a particular juriſdiction ſuperior to the reſt; but it is not known how long their authority laſted. This council of five was like the council of ten in the Venetian ſenate. A vacancy in their number could be filled up by none but themſelves. They alſo had the power of choſing thoſe who compoſed the council of the hundred. Their authority was very great, and for that reaſon none were elected into this office but perſons of uncommon merit: and it was not judged proper to annex any ſallary or reward to it; the ſingle motive of the public good, being thought a tye ſufficient, to engage honeſt men to a conſcientious and faithful diſcharge of their duty.

The power, the conqueſts, the credit, and glory of the Carthaginians all flowed from trade. Situated in the center of the Mediterranean, and ſtretching out their arms eaſtward and weſtward, the extent of their commerce, took in all the known world; and wafted it to the coaſt of Spain, of Mauritania, of Gaul, and beyond the ſtraits and pillars of Hercules. They ſailed to all countries, in order to buy, at a cheap rate, the ſuperfluities of every nation; which by the wants of others, became neceſſaries, and theſe they ſold to them at the deareſt rates. From Egypt the Carthaginians fetched fine flax, paper, corn, ſails and cables for ſhips: from

from the coaſt of the Red-Sea, ſpices, frankincenſe, perfumes, gold, pearls and precious ſtones. From Tyre and Phœnicia, purple and ſcarlet, rich ſtuffs, tapeſtry, coſtly furniture, and divers very curious and artificial works: in fine they fetched from various countries, all things that are abſolutely neceſſary, or capable of contributing to eaſe, luxury and the delights of life. They brought back from the weſtern parts of the world, in return for the commodities carried thither, iron, tin, lead and copper: by the ſale of theſe various commodities, they enriched themſelves at the expence of all nations; and put them under a kind of contribution, which was ſo much the ſurer, as it was ſpontaneous.

In thus becoming the factors and agents of all nations, they had made themſelves lords of the ſea; the band which held the eaſt, the weſt, and ſouth together; and the neceſſary canal of their communication: ſo that Carthage roſe to be the common city, and the center of the trade, of all thoſe nations which the ſea ſeparated from one another.

The moſt conſiderable perſonages of the city were not aſhamed to trade. They applied themſelves to it as induſtriouſly as the meaneſt citizens; and their great wealth did not make them leſs in love with the diligence, patience and labour, which are neceſſary for the acquiring them. To this they owed

their

their empire of the ſea, the ſplendor of their republic; their being able to diſpute for the ſuperiority with Rome itſelf; and their elevation of power, which cauſed the Romans to carry on a bloody and doubtful war, for upwards of forty years, in order to humble and ſubdue this haughty rival. In fine, Rome even in its triumphant ſtate, thought Carthage was not to be entirely reduced any other way, than by depriving that city of the benefit of its commerce, by which it had ſo long been enabled to reſiſt the whole ſtrength of that mighty republic.

The veſſels on which its founders had been conveyed into Africa, were afterwards employed by them in their trade. They began to make ſettlements upon the coaſts of Spain, in thoſe parts where they unloaded their goods. The eaſe with which they had founded theſe ſettlements, and the conveniencies they met with, inſpired them with the deſign of conquering thoſe vaſt regions; and ſome time after, Nova Carthago, or New Carthage, gave the Carthaginians an empire in this country, almoſt equal to that they enjoyed in Africa.

The gold and ſilver mines found by the Carthaginians in Spain, were an inexhauſtible fund of wealth, that enabled them to ſuſtain ſuch long wars againſt the Romans. The natives had long been ignorant of theſe treaſures

ſures (at leaſt of their uſe and value) that lay concealed in the bowels of the earth. The Phœnicians firſt made the diſcovery; and, by bartering ſome wares of little value for this precious metal, which the natives ſuffered them to dig up, they amaſſed infinite wealth. The Carthaginians improved, from their example, when they conquered that country; as did the Romans afterwards, when they had diſpoſſeſſed the latter of it.

The labour employed to come at thoſe mines, and to dig the gold and ſilver out of them, was incredible. For the veins of theſe metals rarely appeared on the ſuperfices: they were to be ſought for, and traced through frightful depths, where very often floods of water ſtopped the miners, and ſeemed to defeat all future purſuits. But avarice is as patient in undergoing fatigues, as ingenious in finding expedients. By pumps which Archimedes had invented when in Egypt, the Romans afterwards threw up the water out of theſe kind of pits, and quite drained them. Numberleſs multitudes of ſlaves periſhed in theſe mines, which were dug to enrich their maſters, who treated them with the utmoſt barbarity; forced them by heavy ſtripes to labour, and gave them no reſpite either day, or night.

We muſt not be ſurpriſed to ſee the Carthaginians ſoon after the greateſt defeats, ſending

ſending freſh and numerous armies again into the field, fitting out mighty fleets; and ſupporting at a great expence, for many years, wars carried on by them in far diſtant countries. Its genius and the nature of its government led it to traffic; and the neceſſity the Carthaginians were under, firſt of defending their ſubjects againſt the neighbouring nations, and afterwards a deſire of extending their commerce and empire, led them to war.

The military power of the Carthaginians conſiſted in their alliance with kings; in tributary nations, from which they drew both men and money; in ſome troops raiſed from among their own citizens; and in mercenary ſoldiers purchaſed of the neighbouring ſtates, without their being obliged to levy or exerciſe them, becauſe they were already well diſciplined and inured to the fatigues of war; they making choice, in every country, of ſuch ſoldiers as had the greateſt merit and reputation. They drew, from Numidia, a nimble, bold, impetuous, and indefatigable cavalry, which formed the principal ſtrength of their armies; from the Balearian iſles, the moſt expert ſlingers in the world; from Spain, a ſtout and invincible infantry; from the coaſts of Genoa and Gaul, troops of known valour; and from Greece itſelf, ſoldiers fit for all the various operations of war; for the field

field, or the garriſons, for beſieging, or defending cities.

In this manner the Carthaginians ſent out at once powerful armies, compoſed of ſoldiers which were the flower of all the armies in the univerſe, without depopulating either their fields or cities by new levies; without ſuſpending their manufactures, or diſturbing the peaceable artificer; without interrupting their commerce, or weakning their navy. By venal blood they poſſeſſed themſelves of provinces and kingdoms; and made other nations the inſtruments of their grandeur and glory, with no other expence of their own, but their money; and even this furniſhed from the traffic they carried on with foreign nations.

Their loſſes were ſpeedily repaired, by ſums ariſing out of a flouriſhing commerce, as from a perpetual ſinew of war, by which the government was furniſhed with new ſupplies for the purchaſe of mercenary forces, who were ready at the firſt ſummons. And from the vaſt extent of the coaſts which the Carthaginians poſſeſſed, it was eaſy for them to levy in a very little time, a ſufficient number of ſailors and rowers for the working of their fleets, and to procure able pilots and experienced captains to conduct them.

In great reverſes of fortune, the kings in alliance with the Carthaginians might eaſily be

be detached from their intereſt, either by a jealouſy which the grandeur of a more powerful neighbour naturally gives; or from the hopes of reaping greater advantages from a new friend; or from the fear of being involved in the misfortunes of an old ally.

The tributary nations, being impatient under the weight and diſgrace of a yoke which had been forced upon their necks, greatly flattered themſelves with the hopes of finding one leſs galling in changing their maſters; or, in caſe ſervitude was unavoidable, the choice was indifferent to them, as will apear from many inſtances in the courſe of their hiſtory.

The mercenary forces, accuſtomed to meaſure their fidelity by the largeneſs, or continuance, of their pay, were ever ready, on the leaſt diſcontent, or the ſlighteſt expectation of a more conſiderable ſtipend, to deſert to the enemy with whom they had juſt before fought, and to turn their arms againſt thoſe who had invited them to their aſſiſtance.

Thus the grandeur of the Carthaginians being ſuſtained only by theſe foreign ſupports, was ſhaken to the very foundation when they were once taken away. And if, to this, there happened to be added an interruption of their commerce (by which only they ſubſiſted) ariſing from the loſs of a naval engagement,

ment, they imagined themſelves to be on the brink of ruin, and abandoned themſelves to deſpondency and diſpair, as was evidently ſeen at the end of the firſt Punic war.

The Carthaginians had beſides a body of troops (which was not very numerous) levied from among their own citizens; and this was a kind of ſchool, in which the flower of their nobility, and thoſe whoſe talents and ambition prompted them to aſpire to the firſt dignities, learned the rudiments of the art of war. From among theſe were ſelected all the general officers, who were put at the head of the different bodies of their forces, and had the chief command in their armies. This nation was too jealous and ſuſpicious to employ foreign generals.

The command of armies was neither annual, nor limited to any time, as in the two republicks above-mentioned. Many generals held their commiſſions for a great number of years, either till the war, or their lives, ended; though they were ſtill accountable to the commonwealth for their conduct; and liable to be recalled, whenever a real overſight, a misfortune, or the ſuperior intereſt of a cabal, furniſhed an opportunity for it.

Indeed a court was eſtabliſhed at Carthage, where the generals were obliged to give an account of their conduct; and they all were made reſponſible for the events of war. Ill

ſucceſs

ſucceſs was puniſhed there as a crime againſt the ſtate; and whenever a general loſt a battle, he was almoſt ſure, at his return, of ending his life upon a gibbet. Such was the furious, cruel, and barbarous diſpoſition of the Carthaginians, who were always ready to ſhed the blood of their citizens as well as of foreigners. The unheard-of tortures which they made Regulus ſuffer, are a manifeſt proof of this aſſertion; and their hiſtory furniſhes us with ſuch inſtances of it, as are not to be read without horror.

CHAP. III.

Of the ſeveral ſieges, and final deſtruction of the city of Tyre.

THE city of Tyre †, in Phœnicia, was anciently called Sor; it ſtood upon the ſea, two hundred ſtadia, or furlongs, to the

† Tyre, muſt be diſtinguiſhed into three different cities in the order of time; as, Tyre on the continent; Palætyrus, or old Tyre; Tyre on the iſland, or Tyre on the Peninſula, after the iſland was joined to the main-land.

ſouthward of Sidon. This city, including Palætyrus, was nineteen thouſand paces in circumference. It was built by the Sidonians, two hundred and forty years before the temple of Jeruſalem. For Sidon being taken by the Philiſtines of Aſcalon, many of its inhabitants made their eſcape in ſhips, and founded the city of Tyre, it is on this account called the daughter of Sidon ‡. But the daughter ſoon exceeded the mother in grandeur, riches, and power; and its trade was ſo great that the inhabitants became like ſo many princes in wealth and magnificence †. As this city was of no great bigneſs, they therefore built their houſes very lofty, and with more ſtories than thoſe at Rome. In general, the buildings were more ſpacious and magnificent, eſpecially the temple built by king Hiram to Jupiter, Hercules, and Aſtarte. The walls were fifteen hundred feet high, broad in proportion, and finely built of large blocks of ſtones, cemented together with white plaiſter.

As to the wars of the Tyrians, nothing material occurs, till the time of Shalmaneſer, king of Aſſyria; who, highly provoked at the Tyrians, the only people in Phœnicia that diſputed his power and authority, determined upon the deſtruction of their city. To this

† Iſaiah xxiii. 8. ‡ Ezek. xxvi. 27.

end,

end, beſides his land forces, he fitted out a fleet of ſixty ſail; but the Tyrians, with only twelve veſſels, engaged and diſperſed this fleet, and took priſoners five hundred rowers. This raiſed the reputation of the Tyrians character for naval affairs; and Shalmaneſer, not daring to engage them again at ſea, contented himſelf with leaving an army to beſiege their city, himſelf returning into Aſſyria. The Tyrians were reduced to great ſtraits by the enemy, who ſtopped up the aqueducts, placed guards by the ſprings, and cut off all the conveyances of water. But the beſieged at laſt gained ſome relief, by digging wells within the city, and made a ſhift to hold out five years, when the ſiege was raiſed, in conſequence of the death of Shalmaneſer.

But, in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Tyre was again beſieged by that monarch, Ithobal II. was then king of Tyre. He was a proud, arrogant, and aſſuming prince, pretending to know all ſecrets, and to be as wiſe as Daniel*. Ezekiel, prophecying of this city, in fact, gives us ſomething of the hiſtory of it †. It was not taken till after a ſiege of thirteen years §. The Aſſyrian forces themſelves ſuffered great hardſhips whilſt they carried on

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* Ezek. xxviii. 3. 4. † xxvi. 8, &c.

§ Year of the world, 3432; before Chriſt, 572: Joſeph. antiq. l. 10. c. 11.

the

the ſiege, ſo that, as the prophet * expreſſes it, *Every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder was peeled* †. Before the reduction of it, the inhabitants retired to an iſland about half a mile from the ſhore, where they built a new city; the name and glory of which extinguiſhed the remembrance of the old one, which from that time became a meer village, retaining the ancient name of Tyre.

Nebuchadnezzar, finding himſelf diſappointed of the ſpoils he expected, by the removal of the Tyrians, vented his revenge upon the buildings, and the few inhabitants who were left, levelling the city to the ground, and maſſacring all he found in it. Thus were the ſeveral prophecies ‡ concerning the deſtruction of this opulent city, fulfilled. This prince, who was the inſtrument of God's wrath, though he did not know himſelf to

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* Ezek. xxix. 18.

† The *baldneſs* of their heads was owing to the preſſure of their helmets; and their *peeled ſhoulders*, to their carrying baſkets of earth, and large pieces of timber, to join Tyre to the continent. *Baldneſs* was itſelf a badge of ſlavery; and, joined to the *peeled ſhoulders*, ſhows, that the conqueror's army endured even the moſt ſervile labours, in this memorable ſiege.

‡ Jer. xxv. 22. xxvii. 3. xlvii. 4. Ezek. xxvi. 3. Amos i. 9. 10. Joel iii. 4.

he

be ſo, againſt a people whom he was reſolved to puniſh, having found nothing to requite his toils and ſervices, God himſelf was pleaſed to promiſe, by the mouth of Ezekiel *, in a very remarkable manner, to give him the ſpoils of Egypt as a reward; which he ſoon after conquered. However, upon the deſtruction of the old city, the new was obliged to ſubmit to the conqueror, who appointed Baal king, inſtead of Ithobal, who is ſuppoſed to have been ſlain by the Aſſyrians, as ſeems to be intimated by the prophet Ezekial †. But, after the death of Baal, in order to render the government more dependent upon the Aſſyrians, the royal power was changed to that of temporary magiſtrates, called ſuffetes ‡.

Some years after, the regal power was reſtored in this manner: the ſlaves, who were very numerous in Tyre, having formed a conſpiracy againſt their maſters, maſſacred them all in one night. Having thus recovered their liberty, they reſolved to chooſe a king from amongſt themſelves; but to avoid all diſputes, they agreed to meet about midnight, and

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* xxix. 18, 20. Jer. xliii. 12.

† xxviii. 6, 7, 8.

‡ Or judges; a name well-known among the Carthaginians, a colony of Tyrians; and whoſe chief magiſtrate was called *ſuffetes*, from the Hebrew word *ſhophetim*, judges.

that

that he who firſt diſcovered the riſing ſun, ſhould be elected king. They accordingly met, and whilſt the reſt carefully looked to the eaſt, one of them, named Strato, kept looking to the weſt; who firſt ſhowed them the high edifices of the city, already gilded by the rays of the ſun. Upon which they ſuſpected that he had been inſtructed by ſome body wiſer than himſelf; he, having their promiſe of forgiveneſs for himſelf and the unknown inſtructor, confeſſed, that out of affection to his maſter, who had always uſed him well, he ſaved him alive; and, that he had inſtructed him. The ſlave they pardoned, and looking upon the preſervation of his maſter as a particular providence of the Gods, choſe him for their king. This account is related according to Juſtin *; how true, I cannot ſay; but this is certain, that the Tyrians, having been reduced to ſlavery by Nebuchadnezzar, had groaned under that oppreſſion for ſeventy years; at the expiration of that period they were reſtored, as it was prophecied †. *And it ſhall come to paſs, after the end of ſeventy years, that the Lord will viſit Tyre, and ſhe ſhall turn to her hire* ‡. Then they recovered their ancient privileges, with

* Lib. xviii. c. 3. † Iſaiah xxiii. 17.

‡ Year of the world, 3502; before Chriſt, 502.

the liberty of having a king of their own *; which liberty they enjoyed till the taking of their city by Alexander the Great, which I am next to relate.

This memorable ſiege † happened when Alzemic was king of Tyre. As Alexander approached the territories of Tyre, the Tyrians ſent out ambaſſadors to meet him (amongſt whom was the king's own ſon) with preſents for himſelf, and proviſions for his army: but when he deſired to enter the city, under pretence of offering ſacrifice to Hercules, they refuſed him admittance; which provoked Alexander, now fluſhed with ſo many victories, to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved to ſtorm the city, and enter it by force. On the other hand, the Tyrians, not at all terrified by Alexander's threats, determined to ſtand it out to the laſt. What encouraged them to this reſolution was the ſtrength of the place, and the confidence they had in the Carthaginians, their allies. The

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* It ſeems probable, that they owed their reſtoration to the favour of Darius, king of Perſia, in conſideration of the ſervices he expected from them (they being powerful at ſea) in reducing the Ionians to their ancient ſubjection: this was in the nineteenth year of the reign of Darius.

† Year of the world, 3672; before Chriſt, 332 years.

city

city then ſtood on an iſland half a mile diſtant from the ſhore; was ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall an hundred and fifty feet high, and was ſtored with great plenty of proviſions, and all ſorts of warlike machines: beſides, the Carthaginians, who were a powerful ſtate, and then maſters of the ſeas, had promiſed to ſend them ſuccours during the war.

What animated the Tyrians to ſtand a ſiege, gave Alexander no ſmall uneaſineſs in the undertaking and carrying it on. For he could no otherwiſe make his approaches to it, than by carrying a mole, or cauſey, from the continent to the iſland on which the city ſtood. This grand work he undertook; and, as he was reſolved at any rate to reduce the city, he accompliſhed it at laſt, maugre the innumerable, and almoſt inſurmountable difficulties he met with in ſo bold an attempt. He was aſſiſted in raiſing the mole (which was two hundred feet in breadth) by the inhabitants of the neighbouring cites, who were all called in on this occaſion; and ſupplied with ſtones from the ruins of old Tyre, and with timber from mount Libanus.

The Tyrians at firſt looked upon this undertaking as a raſh and deſperate attempt, which could never be attended with any ſucceſs: and therefore, from their ſhips, laughing at the king aſked him, whether he believed himſelf to be greater than Neptune? But,

ſeeing the mole, contrary to their expectation, beginning to appear above water, they reſolved, for fear of the worſt, to ſend their wives and children, and ſuch as were not fit for ſervice, to Carthage; but were prevented by the arrival of Alexander's fleet from Cyprus.

Neither could the Carthaginians aſſiſt them with the promiſed ſuccours, being detained at home by domeſtic troubles. However, the Tyrians fainted not in the reſolution of ſtanding to their defence; firſt from their ſhips, and afterwards, as the mole was brought nearer the city, from the walls, with ſhowers of arrows, darts, ſtones, &c. wherewith they made a moſt dreadful havock of the Macedonians, who were employed in the work, and expoſed without any defence.

But what moſt of all diſheartened the Macedonians, was a violent ſtorm, which, ariſing all on a ſudden, carried away, in great part, the cauſey, after it had been, with unwearied labour, and great loſs of men, brought near the walls of the city. This unlucky accident perplexed Alexander to ſuch a degree, that he begun to repent he had undertaken the ſiege; and would have ſent ambaſſadors to the Tyrians with terms of peace, had he believed they would have hearkened to them. But as they had thrown headlong into the ſea the ambaſſadors, who before the ſiege had, in his name, ſummoned them to ſurrender; he was afraid thoſe he ſhould ſend now, might meet with

with ſuch like, or more ſevere, treatment. Being therefore diverted, by this apprehenſion, from all thoughts of making up matters, by way of treaty; and fully appriſed, that his reputation, and the future progreſs of his arms, entirely depended on the ſucceſs of the preſent undertaking, he re-aſſumed, with ſeeming chearfulneſs, the work; repaired, with incredible expedition, the breach which the ſea had made in the mole; and, having brought it again almoſt home to the city, began to batter it with all ſorts of warlike engines; while the archers and ſlingers harraſſed, without interruption, thoſe who defended it, in order to drive them from their poſts. But the Tyrians ſtood their ground, and, by means of a new contrivance of wheels with many ſpokes, which, being whirled about with an engine, either ſhattered in pieces the enemy's darts and arrows, or broke their force, covered themſelves againſt the enemy, and killed great numbers of them, without ſuffering any conſiderable loſs on their own ſide.

But, in the mean time, the walls began to yield to the violence of the rams that battered it night and day without interruption. Whereupon the beſieged, ſetting all hands to work, raiſed, in a very ſhort time, a new wall, ten cubits broad, and five cubits diſtant from the former; and, by filling up the empty ſpace between the two walls with earth and

ſtones, kept the Macedonians a long while employed, ere they could make, with all their engines, the leaſt impreſſion on this new piece of fortification.

Alexander, having joined many of his ſhips together, and mounted upon them a vaſt number of battering engines, beſides thoſe he had already placed on the mole, ſucceeded at laſt in the attempt, and made a breach an hundred feet wide. But when he came to the aſſault, in hopes of breaking into the city over the ruins, the Macedonians, though encouraged with the preſence of their king, were forced to give ground, and retire with great loſs to their ſhips. Alexander deſigned to renew the attack next morning; but the breach being repaired by the Tyrians, during the night, he perceived himſelf no further advanced than when he firſt began to batter the walls.

Hereupon the Macedonian reſolved to change his meaſures; and, having firſt of all brought the mole home to the wall, cauſed ſeveral towers to be built, equal in height to the battlements. Theſe towers he filled with the moſt brave and reſolute men of his army, who, purſuant to his directions, having formed a bridge, with large planks, reſting with one end on the towers, and with the other on the top of the ramparts, endeavoured, ſword in hand, to gain the wall; but could not prevail, being oppoſed by the Tyrians with unparallelled

unparalleled bravery, and weapons, which the Macedonians were entirely unacquainted with. Theſe were three-forked hooks, faſtened with a cord (one end whereof they held themſelves), which, being thrown at a little diſtance, ſtuck in the enemies targets, and gave the Tyrians an opportunity, either of plucking their targets out of their hands, and by that means expoſing them, without defence, to ſhowers of darts and arrows; or, if they were unwilling to part with their ſhields, of pulling them headlong out of the towers: ſome, by throwing a kind of fiſhing-nets upon the Macedonians that were engaged on the bridges, entangled their hands, ſo that they could neither defend themſelves, or offend the enemy: others, with long poles, armed with iron hooks, drew them off the bridges, and daſhed their brains out againſt the wall, or on the cauſey. In the mean time, a great many engines, placed on the walls, played, inceſſantly upon the enemy, with maſſy pieces of red-hot iron, which ſwept away entire ranks at once.

What moſt of all diſheartened the Macedonians, in the attack, and forced them, at laſt, to give it over, was, the ſcorching ſand, which the Tyrians, by a new contrivance, ſhowered upon them: for this ſand (which was thrown in red-hot ſhields of iron, or braſs) getting within their breaſtplates, and coats of mail, tormented them to ſuch a

degree, that many, finding no other relief, threw themſelves headlong into the ſea; and others, dying in the anguiſh of inexpreſſible torments, ſtruck, with their deſperate cries, a terror into all thoſe who heard them. This occaſioned unſpeakable confuſion among the beſiegers, which gave new courage to the Tyrians; who, now leaving the walls, charged the enemy hand to hand, on his own bridges, with ſuch reſolution, that Alexander, ſeeing his men give ground, thought fit to ſound the retreat, and, by that means, ſave, in ſome degree, the reputation of his Macedonians.

Such deſperate attacks were frequently renewed by the Macedonianso, and always ſuſtained with the ſame unbroken and undaunted courage, by the beſieged.

And now Alexander began to entertain ſome thoughts of abandoning the enterpriſe, and continuing his march into Egypt: but, again conſidering the dangerous conſequences that muſt unavoidably attend ſuch a reſolution, he determined to go on with the ſiege, at all adventures, though, of all his captains, none was found, but Amyntas, who approved of that determination. Having, therefore, exhorted the diſheartened Macedonians to ſtand by him, and infuſed into them all the courage he could, he ſurrounded the city with his fleet, and began to batter it on all ſides: in the mean time, a fancy taking the

Tyrians,

Tyrians, upon a dream ſome of them had, that Apollo deſigned to forſake them, and go over to Alexander, they faſtened his ſtatue, with golden chains, to the altar of Hercules. This ſtatue, or coloſſus (for it was of an extraordinary ſize) belonged formerly to the city of Gela in Sicily, and was ſent from thence by the Carthaginians, when they took Gela, to Tyre, their mother city *. In this Apollo the Tyrians greatly confided; and therefore, upon the rumour that he was to abandon them, they had recourſe even to chains, in order to prevent his departure: but their utter ruin being already decreed by the true God, and foretold by his prophets †, the confidence they placed in their idols could not avert the impending judgment. They were deſtined to deſtruction, and deſtruction was their fate: for Alexander, having, at laſt, battered down the walls, and taken the town by ſtorm, after ſeven months ſiege, fully executed the ſentence, which the Tyrians had, by their pride and other vices, drawn upon themſelves and their country.

The city was burnt down to the ground, and the inhabitants (excepting thoſe whom the Sidonians ſecretly conveyed away in their ſhips) were either deſtroyed, or enſlaved, by the con-

* Diod. Sic. l. xiii. p. 390.

† Iſa. xxiii. Ezek. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii.

queror, who, upon his firſt entering the city, put eight thouſand to the ſword, cauſed two thouſand of thoſe he took priſoners to be crucified, and ſold the reſt, to the number of thirty thouſand, ſays Arrian, for ſlaves. His cruelty towards the two thouſand that were crucified, was highly unbecoming a generous conqueror.

Alexander treated them thus, for no other reaſon, than becauſe they had fought with ſuch bravery and reſolution in the defence of their country; but, to paliate the true cauſe of ſo baſe an action, he gave out, that he did it to revenge, upon the preſent Tyrians, the crime which their forefathers committed, when they murdered their maſters, as I have related above; and that, being ſlaves by origin, crucifixion was the puniſhment due to them. To make this look the more plauſible, he ſaved all the deſcendants of Strato, as not being involved in that guilt; and, among them, king Azelmic, who, in the beginning of the ſiege, was out with his fleet upon a naval expedition, in conjunction with Autophradates, the Perſian admiral, but had haſtened home, as ſoon as he was acquainted with the danger of his country.

After the city was reduced, Azelmic took ſanctuary in the temple of Hercules, and was not only ſpared by the conqueror, but reſtored to the throne, after Alexander had re-peopled the place.

Having

Having thus cleared it of its former inhabitants, he planted it anew, with colonies drawn from the neighbouring places; and thenceforth ſtiled himſelf the founder of Tyre, a city which he had moſt ungenerouſly deſtroyed. Upon taking the city, he unchained Apollo, returning him thanks for his intention of coming over to the Macedonians; offered ſacrifice to Hercules; and, after performing many other ſuperſtitious follies, continued his march into Ægypt.

This city, about nineteen years afterwards, was inveſted by Antigonus*, and taken, after a ſiege of fifteen months, double the time that it had held out againſt Alexander. It is ſurpriſing it ſhould ſo ſoon have recovered ſuch great ſtrength, as to be able to indure ſo long a ſiege; but this is aſcribed to the greatneſs of its commerce. A garriſon was put into it, under the command of Andronicus, but being ſoon after inveſted, and the garriſon mutinying, he was forced to ſurrender it up to Ptolemy, who had alſo been a general to Alexander. It was afterwards betrayed into the hands of Antiochus

* Antigonus had been one of Alexander's generals, and on the diviſion of his empire, after his death, had Pamphylia Lycia, and Phrygia Major for his government.

the Great, king of Syria. It is believed, that it was once more made independent, by Cleopatra, or Zebina, and had leave to live according to their own laws; from which they began a new epocha. But this great city, Tyre, at laſt ſunk into obſcurity, and is now a miſerable place, called Sur, inhabited only by a few poor fiſhermen.

CHAP. IV.

The battle of Cunaxa, *and the famous retreat of the ten thouſand* Greeks *under* Xenophon.

ON the death of Darius Nothus, his ſon Arſaces ſucceeded to the crown of Perſia*, aſſuming the name of Artaxerxes, to which the Greeks have added the ſurname of Mnemon, on account of his great memory. Being informed that his brother, Cyrus had formed a conſpiracy againſt him, to murder him in the temple, where he was to be

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† Year of the world 3600, before Chriſt 404.

crowned,

crowned, he ordered him to be ſeized, and put to death; but his mother, not only obtained his pardon, but leave for him to return to the government of Aſia Minor, left to him by his father. But Cyrus, ſtill perſevering in his intention of dethroning his brother, employed Clearchus, a Lacedæmonian general, to raiſe a body of Greek troops for his ſervice, under pretence of a war, which the Lacedæmonians were to carry into Thrace. Cyrus, under a pretence of raiſing forces againſt Tiſſaphernes, that he might keep ſome cities which had revolted from him to Cyrus, deceived his brother, and got together a vaſt army; and was greatly aſſiſted by the Lacedæmonians, who diſpatched their fleet to join the prince's. Cyrus had now raiſed thirteen thouſand Greeks, the beſt of his army, beſides one hundred thouſand troops of other nations. All the Peloponneſian troops, except the Achæans, were commanded by Clearchus. The combined fleet, conſiſted of ſixty ſhips. Tiſſaphernes, ſenſible that this great armament could not be deſigned againſt him, at laſt diſcovered its true deſignation to be againſt Artaxerxes.

He, therefore, immediately went to the king, and informed him of it. Artaxerxes being apprized of his brother's deſigns, got ready a great army to receive him. Cyrus, in the mean time, kept marching his army,

but

but when they were arrived at Tarſus, the Greeks underſtanding that they were going againſt Artaxerxes, grew mutinous, and abſolutely refuſed to advance; however, Cyrus at length prevailed with them, by the magnificent promiſes he made to them. They at laſt arrived in the plains of Cunaxa, in the province of Babylon, where Artaxerxes was, with an army of nine hundred thouſand men. Cyrus inſtantly ordered his troops to prepare for battle. The Greeks attacked the king's army with ſuch fury, that the wing over againſt them, was routed on the firſt onſet; and Cyrus was by thoſe about him proclaimed king. Cyrus obſerving that his brother was wheeling about to attack him in flank, advanced againſt him, with ſix hundred choſen men, killed the captain of the king's guard, and put the whole body to flight. Diſcovering his brother, he cried out, with eyes ſparkling with rage, *I ſee him*, and ſpurring his horſe, advanced to him, followed only by his principal officers. The combat then became ſingle; each of the two brothers, tranſported with rage and fury, endeavoured to aſſure himſelf of the throne, by the death of the other. Cyrus killed his brother's horſe, that fell with him to the ground, but he was ſoon remounted, when Cyrus attacked him again, gave him a ſecond wound, and was preparing to give him a third, in hopes it would prove his laſt.

laſt. But the king, only the more furious from the ſmart, ſprung forwards, impetuouſly puſhing his horſe againſt Cyrus, who, running head-long, and without regard to his perſon, threw himſelf into the midſt of a flight of darts aimed at him from all ſides, and received a wound from the king's javelin, at the ſame inſtant, all the reſt diſcharged upon him. Thus fell Cyrus, and with him all the greateſt perſons of his court, who were determined not to ſurvive ſo good a maſter. Artaxerxes, after having cauſed his head and and right hand to be cut off, purſued the enemy into their camp, and got poſſeſſion of great part of their baggage and proviſions. The Greeks on their ſide, and Artaxerxes on his, ignorant of what had paſſed elſewhere, believed each of them, that they had got the victory; the firſt, becauſe they had put the enemy to flight, and purſued them, and the king; becauſe he had killed his brother, beat the troops he had fought, and plundered their camp. But Tiſſaphanes ſoon cleared up the miſtake, by acquainting the king, that his troops had been put to flight by the Greeks. The king therefore immediately rallied his troops, in order to attack them; but the Greeks, commanded by Clearchus, eaſily repulſed them, and purſued them to the neighbouring hills. The Greeks having halted at the foot of a hill, at night, were ſurpriſed

priſed that they neither ſaw Cyrus, nor any meſſenger from him, being ignorant both of his death, and the defeat of the army. At laſt, they returned to their camp, which they found plundered of the greateſt part of their baggage, and all their proviſions. The next morning, they heard of the death of Cyrus, and the defeat of that part of the army. They then ſent to Ariæus, the general of the Barbarians, offering him, as conquerors, the crown of Perſia, in the room of Cyrus. This was rejected by Ariæus, who ſent them word, that he intended to march early the next day for Ionia, adviſing them to join him in the night. They accordingly marched to his camp at midnight, under the conduct of Clearchus; from thence they ſet out on their return to Greece. The king did all he could to compel the Greeks to deliver up their arms, but this they bravely refuſed, chooſing rather to die than to ſurrender themſelves. A treaty was therefore concluded on between them, and Tiſſaphernes engaged to conduct them back to their own country, but afterwards treacherouſly ſeized Clearchus, and four other generals, and ſent them to Artaxerxes; who ordered their heads to be cut off: this threw the Greeks into the utmoſt conſternation. They were five or ſix hundred leagues from Greece, ſurrounded with great rivers and nations their enemies, without any

ſupplies

ſupplies of proviſions. In this ſtate of general dejection, they could not think of taking either nouriſhment, or repoſe. In the middle of the night, Xenophon, a young Athenian, but of prudence and capacity ſuperior to his years, went to ſome of the officers, and repreſented to them, that they had no time to loſe; that it was of the laſt importance to prevent the bad deſigns of the enemy; that, however ſmall their number, they would render themſelves formidable, if they behaved with boldneſs and reſolution; that valour and not multitude, determines the ſucceſs of arms; and that it was neceſſary above all things, to nominate generals immediately; becauſe an army without commanders, is like a body without a ſoul. A council was immediately held, at which an hundred officers were preſent, and Xenophon, being deſired to ſpeak, deduced the reaſons at large, he had at firſt but lightly touched upon; and by his advice, commanders were appointed. They were Timaſion for Clearchus, Xanthicles for Socrates, Cleanor for Agias, Phileſius for Mnenon, and Xenophon for Proxenes.

Before the break of day, they aſſembled the army. The generals made ſpeeches to animate the troops, and Xenophon amongſt the reſt. "Fellow ſoldiers," ſaid he, "the loſs of ſo many brave men by vile treachery, and the

the being abandoned by our friends, is very deplorable: but we muſt not ſink under our misfortunes, and, if we cannot conquer, let us chooſe rather to periſh glorioufly, than to fall into the hands of Barbarians, who would inflict upon us the greateſt miſeries. Let us call to mind the glorious battles of Platæa, Thermopylæ, Salamis, and the many others wherein our anceſtors, though with a ſmall number, have fought and defeated the innumerable armies of the Perſians, and thereby rendered the name alone of Greek, for ever formidable. It is to their invincible valour we owe the honour we poſſeſs, acknowledging no maſters upon earth, but the Gods, nor any happineſs but what conſiſts with liberty. Thoſe Gods, the avengers of perjury, and witneſſes of the enemy's treaſon, will be favourable to us; and as they are attacked in the violation of treaties, and take pleaſure in humbling the proud, and exalting the low, they will alſo follow us to battle, and combat for us. For the reſt, fellow-ſoldiers, as we have no refuge but in victory, which muſt be our hope, and will make us ample amends for whatever it coſts to attain it; I ſhould believe, if it were your opinion, that, for the making a more ready and leſs difficult retreat, it would be very proper to rid ourſelves of all the uſeleſs baggage, and to keep only what is abſolutely neceſſary in our march."

All

All the ſoldiers that moment lifted up their hands, to ſignify their approbation and conſent, to all that had been ſaid, and without loſs of time, ſet fire to their tents and carriages; ſuch of them as had too much equipage giving it others, who had too little, and deſtroying the reſt.

It was reſolved to march the army without tumult or violence, if their return was not oppoſed; but to open a paſſage, ſword in hand, through the enemy, if they were. They began their march in the form of a great hollow ſquare, with the baggage in the centre. Cheiriſophus the Lacedæmonian had the vanguard; two of the oldeſt captains, the right and left; and Timaſion, with Xenophon, were poſted in the rear, as the youngeſt officers. The firſt day was bad; becauſe having neither horſe nor ſlingers, they were extremely harraſſed by a detachment ſent againſt them: but they provided againſt that inconvenience, by following Xenophon's advice. They choſe two hundred men out of the Rhodians in the army, whom they armed with ſlings, and augmented their pay for their encouragement. They could throw as far again as the Perſians, becauſe they diſcharged balls of lead, and the others made uſe of large flints. They mounted alſo a ſquadron of fifty men, upon the horſes intended for the baggage, and ſupplied their places with other beaſts of burden. By the means

means of this ſupply, a ſecond detachment of the enemy were very ſeverely handled.

After ſome days march, Tiſſaphernes appeared with all his forces. He contented himſelf with harraſſing the Greeks, who moved on continually. The latter, obſerving the difficulty of retreating in an hollow ſquare in the face of the enemy, from the unevenneſs of ground, hedges, and other obſtacles, which might oblige them to break it, changed their order of battle, and marched in two columns, with the little baggage they had between them. They formed a body of reſerve of ſix hundred choſen men, whom they divided into ſix companies, and ſubdivided by fifties and tens, to facilitate their motions according to occaſion. When the columns came cloſe to each other, they either remained in the rear, or filed off upon the flanks on both ſides, to avoid diſorder; and when they opened, they fell into the void ſpace in the rear between the two columns. Upon any occaſion of attack, they immediately ran where it was neceſſary. The Greeks ſtood ſeveral charges, but they were neither conſiderable, nor attended with much loſs.

They arrived at the river Tigris. As its depth would not admit them to repaſs it without boats, they were obliged to croſs the Carducian mountains, becauſe there was no other way, and the priſoners reported, that from

from thence, they would enter Armenia, where they might paſs the Tigris at its ſource, and afterwards the Euphrates, not very diſtant from it. To gain thoſe defiles before the enemy could ſeize them, it was thought proper to ſet forwards in the night, in order to arrive at the foot of the mountains by the break of day; which was done accordingly. Cheiriſophus continued at the head of the advanced guard, with the troops armed with miſſive weapons, beſides his ordinary corps; and Xenophon in the rear, with only the heavy-armed ſoldiers, becauſe at that time, there was nothing to fear on that ſide. The inhabitants of the country had taken poſſeſſion of ſeveral of the heights, from whence it was neceſſary to drive them, which could not be done without great danger and difficulty.

The officers, having held a council of war, were of opinion, that it was proper to leave behind them all the beaſts of burden, not abſolutely neceſſary, with all the ſlaves lately taken; becauſe both the one and the other would retard their march too much in the great defiles they had to paſs; beſides which, it required a greater quantity of proviſions to ſupport them, and thoſe who had the care of the beaſts were uſeleſs in fight. That regulation was executed without delay, and they continued their march, ſometimes fighting, and

ſome-

ſometimes halting. The paſſing of the mountains, which took up ſeven days, fatigued the troops exceedingly, and occaſioned ſome loſs; but at length they arrived at villages, where they found proviſions in abundance, and reſted ſome days, to recover the ſevere fatigues the army had ſuffered; in compariſon with which, all they had undergone in Perſia, was trivial.

They found themſelves, ſoon after, expoſed to new danger. Almoſt at the foot of the mountains they came to a river, two hundred feet in breadth, called Centrites, which ſtopped their march. They had to defend themſelves againſt the enemy, who purſued them in the rear, and the Armenians, the ſoldiers of the country, who defended the oppoſite ſide of the river. They attempted in vain to paſs it, in a place where the water came up to their arm-pits, and were carried away by the rapidity of the current, againſt which, the weight of their arms made them unable to reſiſt. By good fortune, they diſcovered another place not ſo deep, where ſome ſoldiers had ſeen the people of the country paſs. It required abundance of addreſs, diligence, and valour, to keep off the enemy on both ſides of them. The army however, paſſed the river at length without much loſs.

They marched afterwards with leſs interruption; paſſed the ſources of the Tigris,

and

and arrived at the little river Teleboas, which is very beautiful, and has many villages on its banks. Here began the weſtern Armenia; which was governed by Teribaſus, a ſatrap much beloved by the king, and had the honour to help him to mount on horſeback, when at the court: he offered to let the army paſs, and to ſuffer the ſoldiers to take all they wanted, upon condition, that they ſhould commit no ravages in their march; which propoſal was accepted, and ratified on each ſide. Teribaſus kept always a flying camp, at a ſmall diſtance from the army. There fell a great quantity of ſnow, which gave the troops ſome inconvenience; and they learnt from a priſoner, that Teribaſus had a deſign to attack the Greeks at a paſs of the mountains, in a defile, through which they muſt neceſſarily march. They prevented him by ſeizing that poſt, after having put the enemy to flight. After ſome days march through deſerts, they paſſed the Euphrates near its ſource, not having the water above their middles.

They ſuffered exceedingly afterwards from a north wind, which blew in their faces, and prevented reſpiration; ſo that it was thought neceſſary to ſacrifice to the wind, upon which, it ſeemed to abate. They marched on in ſnow, five or ſix feet deep, which killed ſeveral ſervants, and beaſts of burden, beſides thirty ſoldiers. They made fires during the night,

night, for they found plenty of wood. All the next day, they continued their march through the ſnow, when many of them, from the exceſs of hunger, followed with langour, or fainting, continued lying upon the ground through weakneſs, and want of ſpirits. When ſomething had been given them to eat, they found themſelves relieved, and continued their march.

The enemy ſtill purſued them, of whom many, overtaken by the night, remained on the way without fire or proviſions, ſo that ſeveral died of their hardſhips, and the enemy who followed them, took ſome baggage. Some ſoldiers were alſo left behind, that had loſt their ſight, and others their toes, by the ſnow. Againſt the firſt evil, it was good to wear ſomething black before the eyes; and againſt the other, to keep the legs always in motion, and to bare the feet at night. Arriving in a more commodious place, they diſperſed themſelves into the neighbouring villages, to recover and repoſe after their fatigues. The houſes were built under-ground, with an opening at top, like a well, through which the deſcent was by a ladder; but there was another entrance for cattle. They found there, ſheep, cows, goats, poultry; with wheat, barley, and pulſe; and for drink, there was beer, which was very ſtrong, when not mingled with water, but was agreeable to

thoſe

thoſe who were uſed to do it. They drank this with a reed out of the veſſels that held the beer, upon which they ſaw the barley ſwim. The maſter of the houſe, where Xenophon lay, received him very kindly, and even ſhowed him where he had concealed ſome wine; beſides which, he made him a preſent of ſeveral horſes. He taught him alſo to faſten a kind of hurdles to their feet, and do the ſame to other beaſts of burden, to prevent their ſinking in the ſnow; without which, they would have been up to the girth in it, at every ſtep. The army, after having reſted ſeven days in theſe villages, reſumed their rout.

After a march of ſeven days, they arrived at the river Araxes, called alſo the Phaſus; which is about an hundred feet in breadth. Two days after, they diſcovered the Phaſians, the Chalybes, and the Taochians, who kept the paſs of the mountains, to prevent their deſcending into the plain. They ſaw it was impoſſible to avoid coming to a battle with them, and reſolved to give it the ſame day. Xenophon, who had obſerved, that the enemy defended the ordinary paſſage, and that the mountain was three leagues in extent, propoſed the ſending a detachment to take poſſeſſion of the heights, that commanded the enemy; which would not be difficult, as they might prevent all ſuſpicion

of their deſign by a march in the night, and by making a falſe attack by the main road, to amuſe the Barbarians. This was accordingly executed, the enemy put to flight, and the paſs cleared.

They croſſed the country of the Chalybes, who were the moſt valiant of all the Barbarians in thoſe parts. When they killed an enemy, they cut off his head, and carried it about in triumph, ſinging and dancing. They kept themſelves cloſe ſhut up in their cities, and when the army marched, fell ſuddenly upon the rear, after having carried every thing of value in the country, into places of ſafety. After twelve or fifteen days march, they arrived at a very high mountain, called Tecqua, from whence they deſcried the ſea. The firſt who perceived it, raiſed great ſhouts of joy for a conſiderable time; which made Xenophon imagine, that the vanguard was attacked, and go with all haſte to ſupport it. As he approached nearer, the cry of *the ſea! the ſea!* was heard diſtinctly, and the alarm changed into joy and gaiety; and when they came to the top, nothing was heard but a confuſed noiſe of the whole army, crying out together, *the ſea! the ſea!* whilſt they could not refrain from tears, nor from embracing their generals and officers. And then, without waiting for orders, they heaped

ed up a pile of ſtones, and erected a trophy with broken bucklers and other arms.

From thence, they advanced to the mountains of Colchis, one of which was higher than the reſt, and of that, the people of the country had poſſeſſed themſelves. The Greeks drew up in battle at the bottom of it, to aſcend, for the acceſs was not impracticable. Xenophon did not judge it proper, to march in line of battle, but by files; becauſe the ſoldiers could not keep their ranks, from the inequality of the ground, that in ſome places was eaſy, and in others, difficult, to climb, which might diſcourage them. That advice was approved, and the army formed according to it. The heavy-armed troops amounted to fourſcore files, each conſiſting of about an hundred men, with eighteen hundred light-armed ſoldiers, divided in three bodies, one of which was poſted on the right, another on the left, and a third in the center. After having encouraged his troops by repreſenting to them, that this was the laſt obſtacle they had to ſurmount, and implored the aſſiſtance of the Gods, the army began to aſcend the hill. The enemy was not able to ſupport their charge, and diſperſed. They paſſed the mountain, and encamped in villages, where they found proviſions in abundance.

A very ſtrange accident happened there to the army, which put them into great conſter-

nation. For the ſoldiers, finding abundance of bee-hives in that place, and eating the honey, they were taken with violent vomiting and fluxes, attended with raving fits; ſo that thoſe, who were leaſt ill, ſeemed like drunken men, and the reſt, either furiouſly mad, or dying. The earth was ſtrewed with their bodies, as after a defeat; however none of them died, and the diſtemper ceaſed the next day, after the ſame hour it had taken them. The third, or fourth day, the ſoldiers got up, but in the condition people are in after taking a violent medicine.

Two days after, the army arrived near Trebiſond, a Greek colony of Sinopians, ſituate upon the Euxine, or Black, Sea, in the province of Colchis. Here they lay encamped for thirty days, and acquitted themſelves of the vows they had made to Jupiter, Hercules, and other deities, to obtain an happy return into their own country. They alſo celebrated the games of the horſe and foot races, wreſtling, boxing, the pancratium; the whole attended with the greateſt joy and ſolemnity.

† After having offered ſacrifices to the ſeveral divinities, and celebrated the games, they deliberated upon the proper meaſures

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* Xenoph. l. 3.

for

for their return into Greece. They concluded upon going thither by ſea, and for that purpoſe Chiriſophus offered to go to Anaxibius, the admiral of Sparta, who was his friend, to obtain ſhips of him. He ſet out directly, and Xenophon regulated the order it was neceſſary to obſerve, and the precautions to be taken for the ſecurity of the camp proviſions, and forrage. He believed it alſo proper to make ſure of ſome veſſels, beſides thoſe that were expected, and made ſome expeditions againſt the neighbouring people.

As Cheiriſophus did not return as ſoon as was expected, and proviſions began to be wanting, it was reſolved to proceed by land; becauſe there was not a ſufficient number of ſhips to tranſport the whole army, and thoſe, which the precaution of Xenophon had procured, were allotted to carry the women, the old and ſick men, with all the unneceſſary baggage. The army continued its march, and lay ten days at * Ceraſus, where there was a general review of the troops, who were found to amount to eight thouſand ſix hun-

* The city of Ceraſus became famous from the cherry-trees, which Lucullus firſt brought into Italy, and which from thence have been diſperſed all over the weſtern world.

dred men, out of about ten thouſand; the reſt having died in the retreat, of their wounds, fatigues, or diſeaſes.

In the ſmall time the Greeks continued in theſe parts, ſeveral diviſions aroſe, as well with the inhabitants of the country, as with ſome of the officers, who were jealous of Xenophon's authority, and endeavoured to render him odious to the army. But his wiſdom and moderation put a ſtop to thoſe diſorders; having made the ſoldiers ſenſible, that their ſafety depended upon preſerving union, and a good underſtanding amongſt themſelves, and obedience to their generals.

From Ceraſus, they went to Cotyora, which is not very remote from it. They there deliberated again upon the proper meaſures for their return. The inhabitants of the country, repreſented the almoſt inſuperable difficulties of going by land, from the defiles and rivers they had to paſs, and offered to ſupply the Greeks with ſhips. This ſeemed the beſt expedient, and the army embarked accordingly. They arrived the next day at Sinope, a city of Paphlagonia, and a colony of the Mileſians. Cheiriſophus repaired thither with galleys, but without money, tho' the troops expected to receive ſome. He aſſured them that the army ſhould be paid, as ſoon as they were out of the Euxine ſea; and that their retreat was univerſally celebrated,

and

and the ſubject of the diſcourſe and admiration of all Greece.

The ſoldiers, finding themſelves near enough to Greece, deſired to make ſome booty before they arrived there, and with that view reſolved to nominate a general with full authority, whereas till then, all affairs were determined in the council of war, by the plurality of voices. They caſt their eyes upon Xenophon, and cauſed him to be deſired to accept that office. He was not inſenſible of the honour of commanding in chief; but he foreſaw the conſequences, and deſired time to conſider. After having expreſſed the higheſt ſenſe of gratitude for an offer ſo much to his honour, he repreſented, that, to avoid jealouſy and diviſion, the ſucceſs of affairs, and the intereſt of the army, ſeemed to require, that they ſhould chooſe a Lacedæmonian for their general; the Spartan ſtate at that time actually ruling Greece, and in conſideration of that choice, would be diſpoſed to ſupport them. This reaſon was not reliſhed, and they objected to it, that they were far from intending a ſervile dependance upon Sparta, or to ſubmit to regulate their enterprizes by the pleaſure or diſlike of that ſtate; and preſſed him again to accept the command. He was then obliged to explain himſelf ſincerely, and without evaſion; and declared, that having conſulted the Gods by ſacrifice, upon the

offer they made him, they had manifeſted their will by evident ſigns, from whence it appeared that they did not approve their choice. It was ſurpriſing to ſee the impreſſion, which the ſole mention of the Gods made upon the ſoldiers, otherwiſe very warm and tenacious; and who beſides are commonly little affected with the motives of religion. Their great ardour abated immediately, and without making any reply, they proceeded to elect Chiriſophus, though a Lacedæmonian, for their general.

His authority was of no long continuance. Diſcord, as Xenophon had foreſeen, aroſe amongſt the troops, who were angry that their general prevented their plundering the Grecian cities, by which they paſſed. This diſturbance was principally excited by the Peloponneſians, who compoſed one half of the army, and could not ſee Xenophon an Athenian in authority without pain. Different meaſures were propoſed; but nothing being concluded, the troops divided themſelves into three bodies, of which the Archaians and Arcadians, that is, the Peloponneſians, were the principal, amounting to four thouſand five hundred heavy-armed foot, with Lycon and Callimachus for their generals. Cheiriſophus commanded another party of about fourteen hundred men, beſides ſeven hundred light-armed infantry. Xenophon had the third,

almoſt

almoſt the ſame in number, of which three hundred were light armed ſoldiers, with about forty horſe, which were all the cavalry of the army. The firſt having obtained ſhips from the people of * Heraclea, to whom they had ſent to demand them, ſet out before the reſt to make ſome booty, and made a deſcent in the port of Calpe. Chiriſophus, who was ſick, marched by land; but without quitting the coaſt. Xenophon landed at Heracles, and entered into the heart of the country.

New diviſions aroſe. The imprudence of the troops and their leaders, had involved them in all his meaſures, not without loſs, from whence the addreſs of Xenophon extricated them more than once. Being all reunited, they arrived by land at Chryſopolis in Caledonia, facing Byzantium, whither they repaired ſome days after, having paſſed the ſmall arm of the ſea, which ſeparates the two continents. They were upon the point of plundering that rich and powerful city, to revenge a fraud and injury which had been done them, and from the hope of enriching themſelves once for all, when Xenophon made all poſſible haſte thither. He admitted the juſtneſs of their revenge, but he made

* A city of Pontus.

them ſenſible of the fatal conſequences which would attend it. "After your plundering this city, and deſtroying the Lacedæmonians eſtabliſhed in it, you will be deemed the mortal enemies of their republic, and of all their allies. Athens, my country, that had four hundred galleys at ſea, and in the arſenals when it took up arms againſt them, great ſums of money in its treaſury, a revenue of a thouſand talents, and was in poſſeſſion of all the iſles of Greece, and of many cities in Europe and Aſia, of which this was one, has however been reduced to yield to their power, and ſubmit to their ſway. And do you hope, who are but an handful of men, without generals, proviſions, allies, or any reſource, either from Tiſſaphernes, who has betrayed you, or the king of Perſia, whom you have attempted to dethrone; can you hope, I ſay, in ſuch a condition to make head againſt the Lacedæmonians? Let us demand ſatisfaction from the Byzantines, and not avenge their fault by a much greater of our own, which muſt draw upon us inevitable ruin." He was believed, and the affair accommodated.

* From thence he led them to Salmydeſſa, to ſerve Seuthes prince of Thrace, who had

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* Xenoph. l. 7.

before

before ſolicited him by his envoys to bring troops to his aid, in order to his eſtabliſhment in his father's dominions, of which his enemies had deprived him. He had made Xenophon great promiſes for himſelf and his troops; but, when they had done him the ſervice he wanted, he was ſo far from keeping his word, that he did not give them the pay agreed upon. Xenophon reproached him exceedingly with this breach of faith; imputing his perfidy to his miniſter Heraclides, who thought to make his court to his maſter, by ſaving him a ſum of money at the expence of juſtice, faith, and honeſty; qualities which ought to be dearer than all others to a prince, as they contribute the moſt to his reputation, as well as to the ſucceſs of affairs, and the ſecurity of a ſtate. But that treacherous miniſter, who looked upon honour, probity, and juſtice, as mere chimera's, and that there was nothing real but the poſſeſſion of much money, had no thoughts, in conſequence, but of enriching himſelf by any means whatſoever, and robbed his maſter firſt with impunity, and all his ſubjects along with him. "However," continued Xenophon, "every wiſe man, eſpecially in authority and command, ought to regard juſtice, probity, and the faith of engagements, as the moſt precious treaſure he can poſſeſs: and as an aſſured reſource, and an infallible ſupport in all the

events that can happen." Heraclides was the more in the wrong for acting in this manner with regard to the troops, as he was a native of Greece, and not a Thracian: but avarice had extinguiſhed all ſenſe of honour in him.

Whilſt the diſpute between Seuthes and Xenophon was warmeſt, Charminus and Polynices arrived, as ambaſſadors from Lacedæmon, and brought advice, that the republic had declared war againſt Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabaſus; that Thimbron had already embarked with the troops, and promiſed a daric a month to every ſoldier, two to each officer, and four to the colonels, who ſhould engage in the ſervice. Xenophon accepted the offer, and having obtained from Seuthes, by the mediation of the ambaſſadors, part of the pay due to him, he went by ſea to Lampſacus with the army, which amounted at that time, to almoſt ſix thouſand men. From thence he advanced to Pergamus, a city in the province of Troas. Having met near Parthenia, where ended the expedition of the Greeks, a great nobleman returning into Perſia, he took him, his wife and children, with all his equipage, and by that means found himſelf in a condition to beſtow great liberalities amongſt the ſoldiers, and to make them a ſatisfactory amends for all the loſſes they had ſuſtained. Thimbron at length arrived,

who

who took upon him the command of the troops, and having joined them with his own, marched againſt Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabaſus.

* Such was the event of Cyrus's expedition. Xenophon reckons from the firſt ſetting out of that prince's army, from the city of Epheſus to their arrival where the battle was fought, five hundred and thirty paraſangas or leagues, and fourſcore and thirteen days march; † and in their return from the place of battle to Cotyora, a city upon the coaſt of the Euxine, or Black, ſea, ſix hundred and twenty paraſangas or leagues, and an hundred and twenty days march. And adding both together, he ſays, the way, going and coming, was eleven hundred and fifty-five paraſangas or leagues, and two hundred and fifteen days march; and that the whole time the army took to perform that journey, including the days of reſt, was fifteen months.

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* Xenoph. de exped. Cyri. l. 2. p. 276.
† Idem, l. 3. 355.

END of the SECOND VOLUME.